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*'No man who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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by an Officer of that Court on the expenses of such measure being deposited. If the ryots still obstinately persist in not pointing out the parcels of land occupied by each, all the rights they possess will be declared forfeit, and the land will lapse into the uncontrolled power of the Zemindar. Now, common sense will tell any one that this is the sole remedy that could be applied. Why do we flog a naughty boy, but to sharpen his perception of what is right through the medium of fear. A man whose moral perceptions are obtuse from want of religion or civilization, should have religious instruction and education to civilize him, but there is nothing better than fear of the rod to help his education, and serve as a warning to others.

Those many had not dar'd to do that evil,  
If the first man that did the edict infringe  
Had answer'd for his deed.

(Measure for Measure, Act 2, Scene 1.)

Fear is the only controlling power where the perception of wrong exists, without the moral strength of character to abstain from committing it. Law, by the sanction of fear, helps morality in bringing about the desired result. In an early state of civilization and low morality, fear is rightly applied as a sanction in many cases, in which such a sanction if applied at a later period, would be an insult to the moral sensibilities of the people at large. A criminal contract law that would be a gross outrage on the British national character, would be none at all to the Bengalee character, except in the opinion of those who vainly seek to elevate the morality of the Bengalee to their own eminence by a single effort instead of making it ascend thereto by the stairs of progress.

*Lastly.*—We now come to the *vexata quæstio* of enhancement. We propose to treat the question under three heads: *First*,—Was it politic or advisable of the Legislature to interfere in fixing the rates of rent, which should be binding on landlord and tenant, instead of leaving these two parties to settle the matter between themselves, as one affecting their own interests exclusively in each particular case? *Secondly*.—How does enhancement affect the landlord class? *Thirdly*.—How does it affect the tenant class?

*First.*—It will appear that the general question is involved under this head. Those who are opposed to the interference of Government between the Zemindar and the ryot say, 'Let rent be determined by competition, let it be settled in the market. Land, like every thing else, is worth what it will fetch, and worth neither less or more.' Now all this is the language of Englishmen acquainted with the state of things in their own country,



and little else. 'It is so-and-so at home' say they, and 'therefore it should be made so-and-so out here, if we are 'to have any real progress.' Such persons advocate the appointment of a man without Indian experience, but skilled in English politics, to the highest post in this country. 'He will,' they say, 'give the country what it wants, institutions like those 'which have made our country what she is. He will have no 'deep-rooted Indian prejudices, no *shoks* to carry out; convinced 'of the excellence of things at home, he will come out to rear 'the same civilization here on similar foundations.' Such patriotism is certainly pleasant to contemplate, and is the only redeeming point which should plead an excuse for their seeking to teach, where they need to learn,—to guide, where they ought to follow. The subject before us is a remarkable instance of the mistakes made by men of this class. Cases are altered by circumstances. Every thing connected with the internal economy of a country must be viewed in a relative not an absolute point of view. The rent of land is settled in the market in England, in France, and many other countries, and it would be a terrible mistake for the Government of these countries to interfere in the matter by any legislative enactment. Rent may safely be left to the competition of the open market, because land is only one of very many speculations in which the capitalist can invest his capital. Numerous branches of trade and manufactures create many rival sources of profit. Land only takes its place in the list as one among other investments for capital. If money invested in land will bring higher profits than money invested in any thing else, capital will flow in this direction; many people will desire to become possessors of land. Competition will raise rent, till it rises to that point at which the profits of capital invested in land and in other objects of speculation become equalised. If seven per cent. can be made on capital laid out on land, while only six per cent. can be made on other investments, the demand for land will increase till it has raised rents so as to take in the one per cent. difference—at which point it will stop. If capital laid out on land bring smaller profits than that derived from other sources, the demand for land will fall so low, that there will be land in the market, which no one will bid for till the rate is sufficiently lowered to induce the capitalist to bid, by ensuring him a profit on his speculation equal to what he can get elsewhere. There may be a few disturbing influences, the habits or tastes of some persons may lead them to prefer farming, and to keep to this occupation, even when it brings them less profit for their money than they could get from other occupations.

These are however exceptions ; but the above is the general law and may fairly and safely be left alone to bring about its own results—to settle the rent of land. The whole forms a machine ; all parts of which are in working order, and it is sure to do its work. In India there is no similar market for land ; indeed strictly speaking there is no market at all. What little capital exists is in the hands of Europeans, and is employed chiefly in great towns and cities. The people as a nation have not yet learned abstinence—have not learned to amass capital and employ it for reproduction. The little capital that does exist has not, except in the case of a little silk and indigo speculation, found its way into the agricultural districts. The production of silk and indigo has certainly produced some effects, but scattered and isolated as they are, no general result has followed. There is little trade save what is common to the lower stages of progress. There are little or no manufactures. How then can we talk of a market for land in India, or of leaving the rent of land to be settled by competition ? We might as well push the crank of a steam-engine and expect to put the monster in motion without having lighted the fires or got up the steam. Reader, have you ever noticed, with a thrill of pleasure and a perception of power, a mighty steam-engine in motion, the beam ascending and falling, the wheels revolving, every part oiled, polished, and furbished, and considering its size, working with very little noise, with only such a ponderous sound as implies resistless strength and might ? Have you ever also seen a similar engine lying neglected, covered with rust, like a skeleton mass of corroding iron, chilly and cold, creating no idea of power or might ? The first is the machinery of the internal economy of Great Britain, smoothly and surely and mightily bringing about the results that all Great Britain's sons daily see and feel. The other is the internal economy of India. Let no one fancy he can accomplish with the latter the miracles of power which are performed by the beautiful giant lately turned out by Sharp and Atlas. It is old,—it is rusty,—its worn-out material is fit only to be hammered up and remodelled. It must pass through the furnace fire and beneath the forging hammer, ere it become fit for modern use. Rent in India may safely be left to competition and to the market, when competition and a market have been created by trade and manufactures ; when capital has been accumulated, and the warm blood of industry and speculation has circulated through the veins of the entire population. That these results are retarded and will be retarded by a religion that ties down its devotees to one occupation or profession,

who can doubt? While there are men who can labour at nothing else but land, and must starve if they can get no land to labour at; and men who cannot labour at land, and who would regard as an insult, a degradation, and a defamation\* to have agricultural labour imputed to them, it is idle to talk of a market for land. Those who labour at land have no other resource, they must have land or starve; and those who have land to let have a monopoly. In India, above all other countries, what Senior calls the Great Monopoly of Land exists beyond a doubt. And the ordinary rules of demand and supply are suspended, are inapplicable.

To those who regard the interference of the Legislature in fixing rents as wholly erroneous and unwarrantable, the high opinion of Mr. Mill may be deserving of a little consideration. 'Rent,' says he, 'paid by a capitalist who farms for profit, and not for bread, may safely be abandoned to competition; rent paid by labourers cannot, unless the labourers were in a state of civilization and improvement, which labourers have nowhere yet reached and cannot easily reach under such a tenure. Peasant rents ought never to be arbitrary, never at the discretion of the landlord: either by custom or law, it is imperatively necessary that they should be fixed; and where no mutually advantageous custom, such as the *métayer* system of Tuscany, has established itself, reason and experience recommend that they should be fixed by authority.' This strong language comes from a man who has deeply studied the subject, and is in great contrast to the expressions of those who have never studied it at all, but advocate a contrary state of things, merely because they have seen prosperity at home under such a state. The Indian ryot is a labourer in the strictest sense of the word. He is a cultivator of the soil with his own hands. In the large majority of cases he cultivates his own holding without any help, save that of a few hired labourers in harvest time. He works a day for a neighbour with his ox or at weeding or sowing, and the neighbour returns the service. The decision of the High Court has taken into account the value of the simple articles of husbandry required by him. With respect to these and the cost of seed the word capital has been used, but it is not for a moment pretended that the ryot is a capitalist. So far from his being so, the majority of his class are never out of debt with the *mahajun*, who supplies or advances

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\* The writer of this article is aware of a case in which a man sued another for defamation under the Penal Code, the defamatory language being that plaintiff and his father had been agriculturists. He brought proof to show that such an imputation might deprive him of his caste.

all that is necessary to stock or crop the ground, till harvest comes, when he exacts cent. per cent. By a real or imaginary debit, he contrives to keep the ryot, who can neither read or write, and can seldom calculate, always in his power—always with his head under water. Such is the power of this harpy that, if a ryot becomes obstreperous, he seizes his cattle without even the form of any legal process. If the ryot apply to the Local Courts, in ninety-nine cases out of the hundred, he loses or is forced to compromise, because he cannot get a single witness. Every other ryot in his village is similarly in the power of the *mahajun* and dares not provoke the magnate by giving evidence against him. It may seem strange that the ryots do not free themselves from this yoke of bondage, and make themselves independent. They do not, because they are without industry and thrift. Few clothes and little food, and a few rupees for a *tamasha*, for a wedding feast or a funeral dinner, are the limits of the ryot's wants. So long as the *mahajun* keeps him supplied with these, he is content, and the mahajun sees that the ryot works up to the point that will amply remunerate him for supplying these. Beyond this there was till lately no other pressure put upon the ryot's industry. While rents remained stationary, he had no occasion to work harder. Increased prices and the introduction of other crops,—chillies, oil seeds, &c. made the same amount of labour suffice for even an increased population. The amount of labour became even less as regards individuals, for there were more hands to do it. Idleness increased, idleness and carelessness that may be read on the face of the country, far and wide. Look at their villages wrapped in almost impenetrable jungle—not a road or a path through them, that deserves the name, nothing but a dry ditch in the dry weather, and in the rains a fosse full of mud to the knee,—decaying vegetation, choked-up tanks with green water,—the only drink of the squalid inhabitants; filthy, half naked women with tangled hair; naked children of both sexes; mangy pariah dogs; miserable half-starved cattle;—no order, no neatness, no cleanliness. Let any one ride on any morning into a Bengalee village and say if this be an overdrawn picture. Such are the people, and why? Because they want industry, they want thrift, they want exertion, they want to be stirred to labour. They get their living too easily; for there is not a country on the face of the globe where life is so easy, so void of oppression, sustained with so little labour, of suffering and anxiety. Look at the English labourer. He is up before dawn; in the dark night of the winter he is at his work often before he can well see, in cold and frost, and rain, and this not for one day or two days, but day



after day, and year after year, and he is well satisfied, if after all he can keep himself and his family in food and clothes and fire ; and he does do it ; and the thrifty ones can turn out respectably on Sundays or holidays,—when their clothes alone are worth more than the half year's earning of the lazy ryot. When the Indian labourer works as hard, and his rent is raised yet higher, then indeed he may complain and should be heard. But as he is now, any measure that stirs him up to labour, must be productive of unmixed good. When the Bengalees were freed from the oppression that existed under former dynasties, peace with them became ease, and repose degenerated into indolence. Want of any competition for land, and the very usage of the country, prevented rents from gradually rising, so as gradually to stimulate industry. No doubt native Zemindars exacted in various ways more than formerly, but this was done illegally, and therefore secretly, and brought about a trial of cunning between the Zemindar and his tenants. The former took all he could get ; and the latter, as was their interest, hid as far as they could their real circumstances. And this too retarded improvement. Nothing was open and honest, and the ryot who had more thrift than his fellows only made himself a special mark for exaction.

Enhancement is a necessary consequence of Occupancy. The provisions on the latter point necessitated those on the former. If the landlord had no legal power of raising the rent to keep pace with the progress of the country, right-of-occupancy tenants would become peasant proprietors at a low quit-rent. Here more than in any other state, industry would be stopped for ever. In a low state of social progress, the prospect of advantage is scarcely enough to stimulate industry. In India, above all countries, without something to operate on the principle of fear, it is not enough. If the ryot's rent could never be raised, he would sit down in indolence, and do no more work than would be absolutely necessary to save him from ejection and supply his low standard of wants. But Enhancement has applied the opposing interests of the landlord class, as a spur to stimulate the tenantry. Then again, the landlord class could never have been left to settle the enhanced rent for themselves. As the Chief Justice remarks (viewing the subject from another point of observation) ' if ' when the right (of-occupancy) was created by the Act, it had ' been left to the arbitrary discretion of the Zemindar to fix his ' own rent, he might have fixed it at any amount he pleased, and ' might thus have frustrated the intention of the Legislature to ' give a right-of-occupancy.' Again : ' this in my opinion gave the



‘ ryot no greater right than would be created by a covenant in a ‘ lease to renew it at a fair and equitable rent’ ; and to fix what is fair and equitable to both parties is what the Court has to do. If our remarks about occupancy have any truth in them, that truth is an argument for the Enhancement law. Both are so linked together that the enactment of one without the other would do mischief ; while both being enacted at once dovetail into one another and must produce good.

Mr. Elphinstone, remarking on Akber’s Revenue System, writes as follows :—‘ On the whole this great reform, much as it ‘ promoted the happiness of the existing generation, contained no ‘ principle of progressive improvement, and held out no hopes to ‘ the rural population by opening paths by which it might spread ‘ into other occupations or rise by individual exertions within its ‘ own. No mode of administration, indeed, could effect these ‘ objects, as long as the sub-division of land by inheritance checked ‘ all extensive improvement in husbandry, at the same time that ‘ it attached to the soil those members of each family who might ‘ have betaken themselves to commerce or other pursuits, such as ‘ would have increased the value of raw produce, and raised the ‘ price of agricultural labour by diminishing the competition for ‘ that species of employment.’ Akber’s Revenue System had for its object the collection of the Government demand from the ryots with the least possible oppression to the class. ‘ Its result,’ says the same writer, ‘ was to reduce the amount of the public ‘ demand considerably, but to diminish the defalcation in realizing ‘ it ; so that the profit to the State remained nearly the same, ‘ while the pressure on individuals was lessened.’ The Government was then really the landlord. It had not yet transferred its rights to its Collectors. The demand from the cultivators of the soil being fixed and known, a great degree of immediate prosperity ensued upon the introduction of this system ; but the troubles that followed prevented the realization of those final results that would otherwise have necessarily accrued. The same obstacles to progress that then existed, exist now also in a scarcely less degree. Until these obstacles have been removed or have removed themselves, we cannot expect any good measure to shew its results immediately. When rents are generally enhanced up to the limit now fixed, the land will be made to produce more. Money will flow into the hands of the landlord class. There is some limit to indulgence in luxuries, and moreover British capital and British energy are daily setting a good example. The increase of rents will make a fund for the accumulation of capital in the hands of the landlord class, and the ultimate result will be the forging of the old disused rusty

engine into the form and activity of the recent leviathan. But this result will not immediately ensue ; the ryot class must get used to the new state of things, and being convinced of its unalterableness, must settle down to work, and the landlords must be remunerated for all that the intermediate litigation may have cost them.

*Secondly.*—We will now attempt to point out briefly the results of the Enhancement law to the landlords. They have never, as a body, complained against it ; hence it may safely be assumed that they do not object to it. It gives them higher rents at once, which, it is scarcely too much to say, they would not in the present century have had without it. They could not eject their ryots *en masse* for obvious reasons, and had they asked four times the former rent from any individual ryot, they would have had little chance of getting it. The ryot, if pressed, could get the old terms elsewhere. A combination of all the landlords might be conceived as effecting the same result as the present law, but combinations are bad, and are made only when the law supplies no adequate remedy. A good Legislature will always anticipate them by a prudent enactment. Litigation will doubtless cause much present expenditure. Some who cannot afford to continue this expenditure to the remunerative point will be ruined and leave the harvest for others to reap, and some from lack of funds will be unable to enhance at all. This all is only saying that Progress in this as in all other instances, according to the law of the universe, will not produce good without some evil. The desire to enhance where funds do not exist, will induce thrift in order to save those funds, and this thrift existing after its immediate object has passed away, will aim at the accumulation of capital. There is one reason why landlords in many districts have not regarded the enhancement law favourably. They have subtlet their interest in the land in *putnee* or on other similar tenures to others, who being the *persons in receipt of the rent* are, by the wording of the law, the persons who benefit by the enhancement. The Zemindar is not unnaturally dissatisfied at seeing those to whom he made over his rights under a low system of rents, for a low consideration, derive the whole benefit of the new law. Had not however his own want of thrift compelled him to sell his rights, he would never have had this cause for dissatisfaction. Even here there is a moral teaching, which cannot be without good. Other effects of enhancement upon the Landlord class have been already pointed out in the above pages, and in our former article.

*Thirdly.*—Here too we have been obliged to anticipate much, that we would rather have grouped under one head as the results

to the tenant class of a measure against which they have so loudly protested. This loud protest was nothing more than what might have been expected from indolence bidden to labour. No one can justly say that the rent of one rupee per beega fixed for the Nuddea district is too high, or approaches at all too close to the limit to which rent ought to be confined. Higher rents are paid in other parts of Bengal for similar lands. In the Tipperah district, for instance, where there are few ryots who could claim the benefit of the twenty years' presumption, and where a system of short leases has prevailed, settling, as far as may be, the rent by competition, there is not much land let for less than two rupees per beega. Yet the cost of labour is higher, and prices of produce are about the same as in Nuddea. Again, looking at the *adhie* system by which the cultivator gives *half* the crop as rent, a system on which a large quantity of land is sublet to under-tenants in Behar and Bengal, the calculations by which the amount of rent has been settled must be regarded as very liberal. The ryot is better off than the landlord in one respect. If he do not like the terms fixed by the Court, he can throw up the land, but the landlord cannot eject the ryot, whether he like or dislike the terms, if the latter choose to stay. Again, if the enhancement bear hard on any particular ryot, he can take land elsewhere. If it bear hard on all ryots, it will correct itself. Landlords will be forced to accept what the ryot can pay. A suit for abatement will remedy too high a demand, which, if really too high, can be proved to be so. In one respect the enhancement is undoubtedly hard on the ryot. He is called upon with only a year's previous notice to pay a much higher rent than he was paying before, a rent in some cases four times his former rent. Retrenchment is to none so difficult as to those with small incomes. One year is too short a space for industry to have sufficient scope to meet the new demand. It would have saved much individual suffering, had the increase of rent been spread proportionally over three or four years.

The effect of a land tenure like that which prevails in India is, says Mill, to bring the principle of population to act directly on the land, and not as in England, on capital. Now, in the enhancement as at present worked, no account is taken of population. But there is little doubt that in every instance the number of persons to be fed on each holding is more than it was, when the rent was originally fixed at the former low rate. The increase that the landlord did not take, went to feed an increase of population. Now that the landlord claims the increase, food will be taken away from those superabundant hands, who were living in idleness on the landlord's rights. This is the tendency. We

do not say that it will in any place go so far as to produce actual starvation, which it might do, if all the landlords in Bengal were simultaneously to enhance. But they have not done so, nor are they likely to do so. With some funds are wanting, and others get what they want in the way of increase by methods of their own. If any suffering do ensue, the measure we advocate of a proportionate increase of rent, would go far to alleviate it. There is no doubt in any case that there will be a pressure on the superabundant population, which will force them to seek occupation elsewhere. Demand for labourers created by manufacture or improvement of any kind will thus be supplied. The Cachar tea-fields will find hands to cultivate them. Where the habits and associations of the people will not allow them to emigrate, they will work harder at the land to raise a crop sufficient to meet the landlord's increased demand and keep them in bread. The result will be agricultural improvement.

The experience of the last four years shews that it is very difficult to get proper officers with sufficient judgment to decide enhancement cases. This is not at all wonderful. The subject is one that requires agricultural experience, and that is not the kind of experience likely to be found among members of the covenanted service or among the native Deputy Collectors, who are drawn principally from a class which does not follow agricultural pursuits. We would venture to suggest the advantage of using the aid of those who have the necessary kind of experience as Assessors or Arbitrators. The plaintiff might appoint half, and the defendant half, and the casting vote should always rest with the deciding officer.

We have now nearly reached the end of our subject, and have only to express our opinion that, though a few changes might be beneficially made in Act X. and the administration of it, we would not recommend that the essential points of the law be touched. We quite agree with the Committee of the Landholders' and Commercial Association of British India who, in their report of the late Annual General Meeting, dissented from the recommendation for a change in the law contained in the decision of the High Court.\*

We must not make a scarecrow of the law,  
But let it keep *one shape*, till custom make it  
Men's perch and not their terror.

*Measure for Measure.*

We would therefore let the law stand as far as its essential principles are concerned, but we would gladly see its expressions modified to a certain extent. Many of our Indian laws have

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\* 'Englishman' Newspaper, Feb. 4, 1864.



been so loosely and carelessly worded as to say little for the proficiency in conveyancing of those who were entrusted with drawing them up. And certainly Act X. is among the number. This will account in a great degree for the many mistakes already made in carrying out its provisions. The wording of the law allowed every one to use his own interpretation. Few thought of interpreting the law by the intentions of its framers, few even knew or cared to know what those intentions were. The law has been now more than four years in operation. Its doubtful parts have been cleared up, its meaning fixed, and some of its tendencies, which might have been mischievous, have been corrected, by many able decisions of the old Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, but above all by the labours of our Chief Justice and the careful investigation of the High Court Bench. Loose wording has allowed much room for liberal interpretation, and the principles of equity have been wisely applied to correct whatever experience and reflection have shown to bear hardly or unjustly on any class, or even on any particular case, which might be regarded as a type of a class. And there is nothing improper, impolitic or objectionable in this. It was in this way that the Code of Roman Law, which has become the basis of most of the systems of Jurisprudence of modern Europe, and which in the time of the Emperor Justinian found at length a 'local habitation and a name' in the works entitled the Code, the Digest, the Institute, and the Novels, was gradually constructed from the Edicts of the Prætors and the *Responsa* of the *Juris Consulti* or *Juris Prudentes*. The narrow basis of the Roman Civil Law, consisting at first of little more than the Laws of the Twelve Tables, was soon found far too contracted to meet the requirements created by extended conquest. The Prætors therefore drew from the equitable systems of all nations, with whom conquest had brought the Romans in contact, such legal principles as were applicable to the cases they were called on to decide. These principles were worked into their decisions, and on these decisions used as precedents a large portion of Roman Jurisprudence was founded.\* But we have no need to go back so far for an illustration. 'The judgments of the Courts of Westminster Hall are the only authority that we have for by far the greatest part of the law of England,' *i. e.*, the Common Law. This Judicial Legislation, as it is styled, has a decided tendency in modern days to overrule *long-acknowledged precedents*, if they are found to be inconsistent with the demands

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\* See introduction to Sandars's Institutes of Justinian, and Maine's Ancient Law.



of modern equity. This Judicial Legislation then, founded on the use of the wisest nation of antiquity, and consonant with reason, finds additional strength and confirmation in the usage of the present day; and properly so. To be always changing the law unsettles rights and gives a feeling of uneasiness to the community, while at the same time to follow the strict letter of the law, which can scarcely ever be so worded as to meet every possible case, would entail hardship in numerous individual cases. To moderate and adapt the law to these cases forms a peculiar and proper duty of the Courts which administer the law; a duty, however, not to be entrusted to every novice, but only to those, whose wisdom and experience fit them to exercise it. The change of a law should only take place when a new stage of progress has rendered the law suitable to the former stage, suitable no longer. The clothes that fit the child will not fit the growing boy; nor those that fit the boy, the youth; and again the garments that become the youth will not adapt themselves to the full grown proportions of the man. Each stage must have new garments of a suitable cut, but while passing from one stage onward to the other, the garments may be let out, made wider or longer so as to suit not inaptly the growing body. And such is the proper duty of a Court that presides over the administration of the law. It should let out, widen and extend the law to keep it from cramping the course of progress, and so make it suitable to the ever progressive state of society. None can possibly judge better of the sufficiency and capability, or insufficiency and inaptitude of a law for the purpose it is intended, than those who see it daily tested. The inventor may invent a new tool or machine, but the workman who uses the tool, or the practical engineer who directs the machine, will best be able to speak of the capability of either.

That the High Court then should direct the administration of Act X., fixing its meaning, explaining its intention, and applying equitable principles, where it can do so without violating the letter, and where these principles are necessary to correct any mischievous tendencies, is both politic and warranted by usage. That it has done so, is patent to all whose interests or pursuits have induced them to inform themselves on the subject and to watch the decisions of the Court. The terms Enhancement, Occupancy, Abatement, Diluvion will remind this class of our meaning. The rulings that the Right-of-Occupancy Ryot can have no claim to a portion of what is included under the denomination of rent, but has only the right of refusal at a fair and equitable rate; that the right to claim

abatement for diluviated land is not confined to the right-of-occupancy ryot, though Act X. only mentions this class as entitled thereto,—are two illustrations of our meaning. The reader interested in the subject can easily find more for himself.

In a country like India, where there are little or no manufactures and little wealth in the shape of capital, and whose people are, for the most part, agriculturists, the law of land is one of the most important elements of progress. We may therefore be pardoned for adding a few more remarks. Before any country can make advances on the path of civilization, its inhabitants must have been able to produce more food than is necessary for their own subsistence. As long as they are engaged in procuring or raising food, they will be unable to attend to other things, but when once a portion only of the time of individuals is required for procuring their own sustenance, or when a portion of the community can raise food for the support of the whole, the remainder of the time of the individual, or the whole time of the unemployed portion of the community can be devoted to other pursuits, and the Arts of Life begin to flourish. The food raised by the working portion over and above what is required for their own consumption is the first wealth of the early community. Mr. Buckle thus writes:—‘ For although the progress  
‘ of knowledge eventually accelerates the increase of wealth, it is  
‘ nevertheless certain that, in the first formation of society, the  
‘ wealth must accumulate before the knowledge can begin. As  
‘ long as every man is engaged in collecting the materials necessary for his own subsistence, there will be neither leisure nor  
‘ taste for higher pursuits; no science can possibly be created,  
‘ and the utmost that can be effected will be an attempt to economize labour by the contrivance of such rude and imperfect  
‘ instruments as even the most barbarous people are able to invent. In a state of society like this, the accumulation of  
‘ wealth is the first great step that can be taken, because without wealth there can be no leisure, and without leisure there can  
‘ be no knowledge. If what a people consume is always exactly  
‘ equal to what they possess, there will be no residue, and therefore no capital being accumulated, there will be no means by  
‘ which the unemployed classes (*i. e.*, classes not employed in  
‘ labour having the production of food as its immediate object)  
‘ may be maintained. But if the produce is greater than the  
‘ consumption, an overplus arises, which, according to well-known  
‘ principles, increases itself and eventually becomes a fund out  
‘ of which, immediately or remotely. Every one is supported  
‘ who does not create the wealth upon which he lives. And now  
‘ it is that the existence of an *intellectual class* first becomes

‘ possible, because for the first time there exists a previous accumulation, by means of which men can use what they did not produce, and are thus enabled to devote themselves to subjects for which at an earlier period the pressure of their daily wants would have left them no time.’ Now the above applies strictly to a very early stage of progress, but the reader will have no difficulty in educing for himself by carrying the principle a stage more forward the following proposition *viz.*—‘ That in a country like India, where as in England (more especially the manufacturing districts) food is not brought from other countries to feed those employed in pursuits other than those of raising food, the amount of labour obtainable for purposes other than the production of food, will be in proportion to the quantity of food raised by the food-producers over and above what is required for their own consumption.’ England draws food from many countries for a population vastly beyond what could be sustained by the produce of the land in England, even if the arts of agriculture were capable of producing still greater results than they are. She pays for this food with her manufactured articles exported. India gets no food from any other country. Consequently the labourers employed in raising cotton or tea, and those employed in intellectual pursuits, must be fed from food raised in the country. And these classes will be numerous in proportion to the quantity of food raised in excess of what is required to feed those who raise it. It will be easy to see that those who raise more food than they can consume will be able to purchase comforts with the price of the excess; and those employed in other pursuits than the raising of food will be able to purchase comforts with the return for their labour in excess of what they require for the purchase of food. As manufactures now are in this country, these comforts will consist principally of cloth and other imported articles; which may after a time be produced within the country, by capital derived from rent or otherwise. From the above it will plainly appear, that the internal improvement of the country and the benefits to be derived from trade therewith by foreign or external countries depend in no slight degree upon the law of land in so far as it encourages production or otherwise. This must in a very great degree influence the *production of wealth*. Upon the *distribution* of their wealth will depend the happiness and prosperity of the classes among whom that wealth is to be divided. Mr. Buckle in speaking of India notices the vast disproportion in this respect between the upper and lower classes of its people. He refers to the low rate of wages, and the small quantity of the produce of their labours, which the labouring



class were permitted to retain; and assigns their great poverty and the appropriation of the greatest portion of the produce by the higher class, as the great causes of those evils which exist in the country. Although the law of land cannot properly be said to affect the distribution of wealth immediately, yet it may exercise an indirect influence thereon. Most certainly a law which secures the cultivator all the proceeds of his own thrift and abstinence, does so; and this we have pointed out that the right-of-occupancy law properly interpreted does.

To turn to another point; the wages of labour have in few places been less than in the agricultural districts where the law of enhancement has been most brought into operation; because the inhabitants of those districts, having no spur to labour, produced from the land merely enough to suffice for the requirements of low rent and food and scanty clothes. But under the action of enhancement agricultural improvement will take place. More will be obtained from the land, wealth will increase, the wages-fund will be enlarged, and so wages must rise, *i. e.*, if population do not increase in proportion to the increase of the wages-fund, in which case wages would remain as low as ever. But an increase of population is unlikely. The customs of the country as to marriage render marriage in India less dependent than in most countries on food. Marriage takes place ordinarily while the parties are yet young. Children are married while young as usually as they have the measles or whooping cough in England. Men do not wait till they can see an opening to support a family. A little rice for food is grown with very little labour. The result of the enhancement law will therefore be to increase the wages-fund; while, as we have pointed out before, its working will probably force a portion of the thickly spread population in some parts to emigrate where their labour is more wanted. If we are to hold India not by force of arms but by the inclinations of her people, a law that secures the rights, and protects the self-acquired prosperity, of the masses who compose her agricultural population, will do more than anything to make them conservative and attached to our rule.

The objections to Act X. from the tenant class have mostly been directed against those parts of the law, which force them to lay aside their wonted indolence and exert themselves. The objections that come from the great majority of Englishmen resident in the country may, as we have shown, be mainly traced to the fact of the law introducing principles foreign from the state of things they were conversant with at home. But that our ideas about peasant proprietors and land tenures are far from

being correct is beginning to be *now* pretty generally admitted. They have long produced results, which have occupied the serious attention of our Reformers and Legislators. The still small voice is beginning to be raised against the whole structure, and we foresee that the day is not far distant, when radical changes will be effected. We refer our curious readers to an article in the *Cornhill Magazine* for February last, entitled 'The Life of a Farm Labourer,' in which the condition of that class is well depicted, the Poor-house is shewn to be the retreat of their old age. The monstrous proposition that he who during the working portion of his life raised sustenance sufficient for himself and many more beside, should not obtain from his labour sustenance enough to support his single life, has at length had its propriety questioned. The wonder is that common sense has borne with it so long. It is well to say he does obtain enough, that the Poor-laws provide him with a retreat, where his old age is at last safe from starvation. We reply that only for the Poor-laws he would never have required such a retreat, and for the sake of the boasted independence of our race we could wish to see so considerable a portion of our population become thoroughly self-dependent, instead of being taught to look to charity for that which they ought to have without it. It may again be said, that the labourer has squandered during his years of labour more than would support him comfortably in old age. We reply again, the fault rests with laws that have trained him to look to the Parish rather than to himself, and so have nipped in the bud all beginnings of thrift and abstinence. Then again the policy of the English Government and the tendency of society has been to make the class one of day-labourers only, and to preclude all hope or possibility of their becoming proprietors. The unfortunate state of things in Ireland, the causes of which were long misunderstood, induced an idea that cultivation by peasant proprietors was sure to impoverish the country and change progress for a retrograde movement. The tendency in England, owing to the vast increase of capital, was in favour of farming by capitalists. Putting these two together, we uncalculatingly ran ahead with the idea that farming by capitalists was best calculated to advance the arts of agriculture and benefit the country at large. At the beginning of this century, the continent was for some time closed against exploring Englishmen; war had disordered the natural course of things; and our prejudice against every thing continental, prevented us from benefitting by a more extended field of view. Latterly, however, especially after the marriage of our Queen with the late excellent Prince, our prejudices against the Continent began to fade away, and



were enabled to see the excellencies of the systems prevailing in other countries. Dissenting from Dogberry, who thought *comparisons odorous*, we began to compare things abroad with things at home. Mr. Laing explored Norway, Mr. McCulloch described the state of agriculture in Flanders, and Mr. Kay did the same for Prussia, Saxony, Holland, and Switzerland. Of those who had most strenuously advocated former ideas on the subject, many changed and most modified their opinions. The Channel Islands still nearer home were an example, that admitted of no dispute, of the results of an opposite policy and those who *would* doubt had an opportunity of seeing with their own eyes, what they would not be convinced of otherwise. And now, as is remarked by the writer of a very excellent essay on the Land Tenure Question in *Fraser's Magazine* for March, to which we beg to refer our reader for some useful information on the subject, 'the doctrine can no longer be treated as heretical or eccentric in England. The Professor of Political Economy at Oxford, Mr. J. E. Thorold Rogers, in three able letters to the *Morning Star*, has recently avowed with emphasis his adhesion to the views of Messrs. Cobden and Bright in agrarian matters: and the most recent author of an Economic Manual, Mr. Henry Fawcett, recently elected Professor of Political Economy at Cambridge, is on the same side.' If then we would not make the Indian ryot a *cottier*, let us do nothing that will diminish or tend to diminish that abstinence and thrift, which are so conspicuous in peasant proprietors, and which Act X. will be sure to develop to some extent by the creation of a tenure, resembling, as far as the state of things in India safely allows, that of *peasant proprietorship*.

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ART. VI.—*The Competition-Wallah.* By G. O. Trevelyan.  
Macmillan and Co., 1864.

IT is a very common and very well-founded complaint among Anglo-Indians, that they are systematically misunderstood and misrepresented among their countrymen at home. Not only is the interest usually taken in their affairs unreasonably languid and faint, but when a spasmodic interest *is* aroused, it has always a touch of contemptuous dislike in it. The feeling perhaps is not unnatural. It is always pleasant to discover something ludicrous, or contemptible, in those with whom we do not mix too closely, especially if it can be made to excuse a neglect and inattention which require to be justified to our conscience; and in the case of Anglo-Indians there have been many reasons why they should not be regarded with much favour. Anyhow it has always been the case; the portion of the Anglo-Indian at home in all public representations has been dislike and ridicule, and the interest taken in their life in India has always partaken of these feelings.

From the days when the life of an Englishman in India was believed to be truly represented in Sir W. Scott's novel of the *Surgeon's Daughter*, and when, as described by Macaulay, the Nabob was brought on the stage, 'as dissolute, ungenerous, and 'tyrannical, ashamed of the humble friends of his youth, 'hating the aristocracy, yet childishly eager to be numbered 'among them, squandering his wealth on panders and flatterers, 'tricking out his chairmen with the most costly hot-house 'flowers, and astounding the ignorant with jargon about 'rupees, lacs, and jaghires;' from those days when the villain of every piece was a savage Nabob, with an immense fortune, a tawny complexion, a bad heart, and worse liver, to these days of 'the Overland Route,' when Anglo-Indian Majors 'up at the hills' find nothing better to do than to seduce their neighbours, ayahs, and subsequently marry them, and when the Civil Service is still represented by the immortal Collector of Bogglywallah, we find the prominent feeling in regard to Anglo-Indian life and manners to be listlessness tempered with disgust.

Nor is the case much better in matters political; as it was in the days of Warren Hastings, so is it in the present day; as it was when 'ferocious dhoolies rushed on the plain,' so is it when English Statesmen confound the lotahs of the Pandys with the

lotus of the pond. We have to wrestle not only with the disregard and dislike of the public, but with official ignorance in high places,—with the blindest leaders of the blind.

We could not have found a happier illustration of this than the view which the English Press has recently taken of the burning ghât question. With creditable industry public writers at home have studied the religion and mythology of the Hindoos, as developed in Encyclopædias, and in the *Curse of Kehama*, and their readers are thereupon instructed that the prohibition to throw corpses into the river in Calcutta has brought Bengal to the brink of rebellion, and the *Saturday Review* carefully explains how, by feeding the fishes in Diamond Harbour, the Mahomedan lascar of to-day may hope to escape the 'Put' of ancient Hindoo Mythology.

In fact, the attention paid to Indian matters to-day by politicians is painfully less than was paid to them in the last century. If political attention to India was then uninstructed, at least it was earnest. Time was indeed in the days of Pitt and Fox when the question who should govern England, depended on the fate of the rival bills for the Government of India; when all that was most eminent in England, her greatest statesmen, orators, men of wit, and men of letters, took an earnest part in such questions as the resolutions condemnatory of Clive and the impeachment of Warren Hastings; but now India is simply a bore. Since the days of the mutinies, when Mr. Vernon Smith satisfied the House that the much longed-for troops, despatched to India in sailing transports, would arrive, thanks to the force of a 'generous emulation,' not less rapidly than by steam, an impenetrable apathy to things Indian has held the House; it was a matter for congratulation that the transfer of the Government of India from the E. I. Company to the Crown was not met by a count-out, and the interest which has been taken subsequently on such questions as Army amalgamation, and the redemption of the pledge then made to Indian Officers, is but too painfully known to the majority of our readers. Even the talk that took place on the subject of the burning ghâts, displaying as it did an unfathomed depth of ignorance, and the uttermost misunderstanding of India, was yet a hopeful sign. The attention of ignorance is better than utter inattention, and any little symptom of interest, any attempt to throw light on Indian matters, and to break through the too, too solid crust of ignorance which surrounds them, should be welcomed by us with joy and acclamation.

It is for this reason that we promptly and gladly notice the republication, by Mr. George Trevelyan, of the series of papers

which, under the title of the *Competition-wallah*, he contributed to *Macmillan's Magazine*.

To hope that this book will succeed in penetrating the unfathomable apathy of which we have been speaking would be altogether unreasonably sanguine, but as a step, and an important step, in that direction we hail it, and with a very real satisfaction we see that a singularly intelligent and observant writer, with the valuable faculty of interesting and amusing his readers with what he writes, has found in *Macmillan's Magazine* a vehicle for making known to the very class of English readers whose interest and sympathy may be most useful to us, the impressions which he received from a twelve months' residence in India under circumstances the most favourable for mixing with divers classes of society, and observing the multifarious phases of Indian life. That we do not find in him the judicial calmness, the philosophical impartiality which a long residence in India, and a thorough interpenetration with the chief topics of Indian thought, fail frequently to beget, is not to be wondered at; nor should our condemnation be too severe when we find an earnest writer, with the rashness and impetuosity inseparable from the earlier efforts of men capable of doing great things, displaying intense and fiery indignation against the very semblance of oppression, and scattering the coals of his anger far more widely than a calmer judgment could approve, against the more obvious and palpable vices of his countrymen in the East. It should be remembered that the same writer who has done this, has not failed thoroughly to appreciate, and most eloquently to commemorate, the heroic courage of these his countrymen in the day of their trouble, and their untiring fortitude in the still more hopeless struggle against weariness and despair. The qualifications which Mr. Trevelyan brings to his task are eminently those which conduce to success as a writer. With a thoroughly cultivated intellect, impregnated with classical scholarship, and not unnurtured in modern literature, he combines a freshness of observation, and an acquisitiveness, the fruit of bold and insatiable questioning, which have enabled him to make admirable use of his time out here, and withal he has the power of expressing himself in rich and telling English, wielding not only the pen of a ready writer, but wielding it with a skill, especially in descriptive narration, not unworthy of his kinsman the great essayist, legislator, and historian. He has also great humour of a healthy and original kind; it revels perhaps too much in the grotesque, and startles his reader occasionally by cropping



up where it is not exactly wanted ; but this is a defect which time will cure, and which perhaps renders his book none the less readable. With all this he has an earnest love of the English name, which, while enabling him to see and fully to appreciate the higher qualities of his countrymen in the East, induces him at the same time to expose, and as far as in him lies, to scarify all vices and weaknesses which tend to bring obloquy on that name.

In a work of greater pretension than a few amusing and instructive letters can claim to be, the want of detailed knowledge and experience of India, such as long residence alone can give, would justly be accounted a great disqualification, but in such detailed knowledge, the aroma of bold observation, *naïve*, fresh and vigorous, which gives its charm to the earlier part of Mr. Trevelyan's book, would exhale, and we should lose more than would be compensated for by an exacter and more mature appreciation of detail. There can, however, be no doubt that Mr. Trevelyan's impetuosity of intellect has led him to summary generalisation, and to the hasty acceptance of extreme opinions, which greatly detract both from the value and from the pleasure which would otherwise attach to his book. Oh that he had known his own strength ! While narrating his personal experiences, and throughout the first part of his work, his company is charming, and we read on with unqualified pleasure, but in an evil hour our author,

‘tam bellus ille, et urbanus  
Suffenus,’

becomes an Indian Politician, and though still far from becoming ‘*unus caprimulgus aut fossor*’, he is no longer the agreeable, amiable, courteous Suffenus that he was. He has fallen grievously, like Lucifer, son of the morning. The difference between Dickens in the Circumlocution Office and Dickens in Sam Weller, is not an exaggerated measure of the difference between Mr. Trevelyan on the Contract Law, and Mr. Trevelyan in the Nepal Terai ; and this discrepancy between the two portions of Mr. Trevelyan's work makes the task of reviewing it somewhat difficult. Throughout the earlier part of his work, where he contents himself with amusing his readers, the critic's task is easy ; he has but to float pleasantly down with the stream, pointing out here and there a charming landscape, or stately edifice, and selecting for his reader's refreshment the fairest and most pleasing flowers ; but, in the latter part of the book, Mr. Trevelyan writes ‘with a purpose,’ and discusses all the most difficult problems of Indian life, thus forcing the conscientious critic, to a certain extent, to



discuss them with him ; and inasmuch as these problems extend over an expanse of subjects ranging from free will on the one hand, to a paper currency on the other, the conscientious critic runs a fair chance of being exorbitantly dull, or unconscionably long-winded. It would perhaps have been an advantage, if in reprinting in one volume the letters contributed to *Macmillan*, Mr. Trevelyan had eliminated from it all the poetry. Not that the verses themselves are bad ; on the contrary some of them are very clever as parodies, but they spring up in a wild and wanton manner, frequently without reference to the rest of the letter, and in some instances (notably at the end of the ninth letter where several originally appeared) are painfully out of place.

We give here some specimens of Mr. Trevelyan's powers in this line, culled from different parts of his work, and shall not have to notice them in reviewing the letters separately. The first is a song with which many of our readers are familiar, as Mr. Trevelyan introduced it with considerable effect in the play of the 'Dâk Bungalow.'

1.

' When from the palkee I descend,  
Too weary to rejoice,  
At sight of my Mofussil friend  
I cry with feeble voice,  
Ere yet within the genial tub  
I plunge my clammy brow ;  
" Qui hye, Mahommed, brandy shrub,  
Belatee pawnee lao !"

2.

' As from Kutcherry home I spin,  
Worn with the ceaseless rout,  
Of Mookhtars quarrelling within,  
And Umedwars without,  
My servant catches from afar  
The mandate, " juldee jao !"  
" Hullo there ! brandy, khitmutgar !  
Belatee pawnee lao !"

3.

' And when a poor forsaken brute,  
On fevered couch I toss ;  
No man of medical repute  
Within a hundred coss ;  
One sovereign remedy I know,  
Whose virtues all allow,  
" Qui hye, Mahommed, brandy do !  
Belatee pawnee lao !"

The next which we insert, rather for its merits than for its strict accordance with fact, purports to be an 'Ode to Calcutta,' composed by a friend, passionately devoted to the study of the laws of sanitation and mortality.

## I.

Fair city, India's crown and pride,  
 Long may'st thou tower o'er Hooghly's tide,  
 Whose hallowed, but malarious stream,  
 The peasant's God, the poet's theme,  
     Rolls down the dead Hindoo ;  
 And from whose wave, a stagnant mass  
 Replete with sulphuretted gas,  
     Our country beer we brew ;  
 As o'er a pulse physicians stand,  
 Intent upon the second-hand,  
     Determined not to miss ticks ;  
 I watch thy sanitary state,  
 Jot down of deaths the annual rate,  
 And each new epidemic greet,  
 Until my system I complete,  
     Of tropical statistics.

## II.

Of those with whom I laughed away  
 On Lea's fair banks the idle day,  
 Whose love would ne'er my heart allow,  
 To hold concealed the thoughts that now  
     Within my breast are pent,  
 Who hung upon my every breath,—  
 Of those dear friends I mourn the death  
     Of forty-five per cent :  
 And Cecil Gray, my soul's delight,  
 The brave, the eloquent, the bright,  
     The versatile, the shifty,  
 Stretched hopeless on his dying bed,  
 With failing strength and aching head,  
 In cholera's malignant phase,  
 Ah woe is me ! will shortly raise,  
     The average to fifty.

## III.

And when before the rains in June,  
 The mercury went up at noon  
 To nine-and-ninety in the shade,  
 I every hour grew more afraid,  
     That doctor Fayrer right is,  
 In hinting to my wife that those  
 Inflammatory symptoms rose

From latent hepatitis—  
I'll ere another week goes by,  
For my certificate apply,  
And sail home invalided ;  
Since if I press an early bier,  
The deaths from liver in the year,  
Compared with those produced by sun,  
Will (fearful thought!) have then by one  
Their ratio exceeded!

There are also a few imitations of Horace of considerable merit. We extract the following from an imitation of 'Quid fles Asterie,' for the amusement of our readers.

At tibi  
Ne vicinus Enipeus  
Plus justo placeat, cave ;  
Quamvis non alius flectere equum sciens  
Æque conspicitur gramine Martio ;  
Nec quisquam citus æque  
Tusco denatat alveo.

But thou beware,  
'Tis whispered, though I hardly dare  
To credit the assertion,  
How very kind an ear you lend  
To some young Civil Service friend  
Who lately passed in Persian ;  
Than whom no other wallah steers,  
With less excruciating fears,  
His buggy down the course ;  
Or chooses out a softer place,  
And with a more seductive grace  
Drops off a shying horse.

We close our poetical extracts with an imitation of Horace's remonstrance to Leuconoe on her predilection for prophetic spirit-rappers and 'Babylonios numeros.' The adaptation has some very happy hits\* :—

Matilda, will you ne'er have ceased apocalyptic summing,  
And left the number of the beast to puzzle Dr. Cumming ?  
'Tis vain to rack your charming brains about (confusion take her)  
The Babylonian Lament, the Pretty Dragon-breaker.  
What can't be cured must be endured ; perchance a gracious Heaven  
May spare us till the fated year of eighteen sixty-seven ;  
Perchance Jove's Board of Public Works, the dread decree has passed,  
And this cold season, with its joys, is doomed to be our last.  
Let's to the supper room again, though khitmutgars may frown,  
And in Lord Elgin's dry Champagne wash all these tremors down,  
And book me for the fifteenth valse, there, just beneath my thumb ;  
No, not the next to that, my girl, the next may never come.

Mr. Trevelyan in his first letter introduces himself as the Competition-wallah, and to justify his adoption of the title gives a description of the Competition-wallah's position on his first arrival, and suggests that an East Indian Collegemight be attached to one of the Universities, where between the passing of their first examination and their departure for India successful can-

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\* We have quoted this as it first appeared in *Macmillan*.

didates might study, combining thus with the benefits of a University education all the advantages which attached to the East India College at Haileybury, without the attendant evils which rumour assigned to that much-loved institution of many duns, many prizes, little learning and less discipline.

In his second letter Mr. Trevelyan takes his reader with him to Patna. To him, as to many others, befel the accident which the judicious nomenclature selected by the East Indian Railway Company rendered at first almost unavoidable, of getting out at the station of Patna city instead of at the civil station of Bankipore. A walk of eight miles through the sun is the only consequence of the mistake, and to this our author takes kindly enough. His description of the reflections which occurred to him on the journey are worth extracting, for though they are, as he says, common-place, they are nevertheless evidently genuine, and are excellently described.

‘There is something very interesting in a first railway journey in Bengal. ‘Never was I so impressed with the triumphs of progress, the march of ‘mind. In fact, all the usual commonplaces genuinely filled my soul. ‘Those two thin strips of iron, representing as they do the mightiest ‘and the most fruitful conquest of science, stretch hundreds and hundreds ‘of miles across the boundless Eastern plains—rich, indeed, in material ‘products, but tilled by a race far below the most barbarous of Europeans ‘in all the qualities that give good hope for the future of a nation—through ‘the wild hills of Rajmahal, swarming with savage beasts, and men more ‘savage than they; past Mussulman shrines and Hindoo temples; along the ‘bank of the great river that cannot be bridged, whose crocodiles fatten on ‘the corpses which superstition still supplies to them by hundreds daily. ‘Keep to the line, and you see everywhere the unmistakeable signs of ‘England’s handiwork. There are the colossal viaducts, spanning wide ‘tracts of pool and sandbank, which the first rains will convert into vast ‘torrents. There are the long rows of iron sheds, with huge engines running in and out of them with that indefiniteness of purpose which seems ‘to characterize locomotives all over the world. There is the true British ‘station-master, grand but civil on ordinary occasions, but bursting into ‘excitement and ferocity when things go wrong, or when his will is disputed; who fears nothing human or divine, except the daily press. There ‘is the refreshment room, with its half-crown dinner that practically always ‘costs five and nine pence. Stroll a hundred yards from the embankment, ‘and all symptoms of civilisation have vanished. You find yourself in the ‘midst of scenes that Arrian might have witnessed; among manners unchanged by thousands of years—unchangeable, perhaps, for thousands ‘more. The gay bullock-litter bearing to her wedding the bride of four ‘years old; the train of pilgrims, their turbans and cummerbunds stained ‘with pink, carrying back the water of the sacred stream to their distant ‘homes; the filthy, debauched beggar, whom all the neighbourhood pamper ‘like a bacon-hog, and revere as a Saint Simeon—these are sights which ‘have very little in common with Didcot or Crewe junction.’

In his third letter, after a grotesque comparison of the *Durgáh* at Patna with a College at an English University,



Mr. Trevelyan gives a charming description of a Government School. He notices the precocious intelligence and sharp pleasing features of quite young boys; he passes over the less pleasing sight of great hulking youths of eighteen or twenty sitting in the same class with the pleasing looking children of eight or ten; he notices the brilliant dresses with which natives love to invest their pet sons; he remarks on the listless slouching air, the flabby, energyless *physique* of the elder students; he finds the usual food for mirth in the number of absentees from school who have gone away to be married, and he then gives a very fair description of the kind and amount of intelligence with which the pupils of an average zillah school receive the instruction imparted to them. We quote his description at length, and all whose hard fate it has been to examine the classes of a Government School will recognise its truth and accuracy:—

'The class was engaged on "The Deserted Village." Each scholar read a few lines, and then gave a paraphrase of them in the most grandiloquent and classical English. I sat aghast at the flowery combination of epithets which came so naturally to their lips; not knowing at the time that the natives who have been brought up at the Government Schools, having learnt our language from Addison and Goldsmith, use, on all occasions, the literary English of the last century. They talk as Dr. Johnson is supposed to have talked by people who have never read Boswell, as seems to have been the case with the authors of "Rejected Addresses." The passage before us was that beginning—"Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey"—an excellent sample of that mild conventional sentimental Conservatism, which to so many minds is the constituent idea of poetry; and which appeals to man in his maudlin moments throughout all ages and in every clime. There was something exquisitely absurd in hearing a parcel of young Bengalees regretting the time when every rood of ground in England maintained its man, and indignantly apostrophising trade's unfeeling train for usurping the land and dispossessing the swain. And yet, was it more truly incongruous than the notion of English boys in the latter half of the nineteenth century upbraiding the descendants of Romulus with their degeneracy and luxury; calling on them to fling into the nearest sea their gems and gold, the material of evil; and complaining that few acres are now left for the plough; though if that implement resembled the one described by Virgil in the first Georgic, it is, perhaps, as well that the field of its operations was limited. Ratcliffe created a general agitation by asking whether commerce was really a curse to a country. These young Baboos, destined, many of them, to pass their lives in the sharpest and most questionable mercantile practice, seemed to consider any doubt on the subject as perfect heresy; until one of them, who expressed himself in a manner more nervous and less ornate than his fellows, solved the difficulty by stating that "the poets often told lies." One youth, at the bottom of the class, on being requested for a definition of what Goldsmith meant by "unwieldy wealth," amused me much by replying, "Dazzling gawds and plenty too much elephants." On the whole the facility with which they used a tongue which they never hear spoken, except in school, was very creditable to the system.'

Before quitting Patna our author visits the opium factory, and witnesses the manufacture of those balls with which we poison the Chinese, offend Exeter Hall, and maintain our revenue. This of course leads to a disquisition on the opium traffic, in which Mr. Trevelyan, having adopted a common-sense view, proves somewhat summarily, that opium is a commodity on which it is right to lay the heaviest possible duty that it will bear without risk of smuggling; that the opium system of Bengal practically does this, and that the monopoly is the most convenient, if not the only possible, form of collecting this duty, without giving rise to a greatly increased consumption in our own territory, combined, as it must inevitably be, with an immense amount of official interference, domiciliary visits, and harassment of all kinds.

The fourth letter is taken up with a narrative of the defence of Arrah, and this brilliant episode in the history of the Mutinies has never been, and is never likely to be, better or more worthily told. In this letter all Mr. Trevelyan's high qualities as a narrator come out. With a quick imagination which seizes and reproduces all the salient and most striking points in such a scene; with a heart capable of feeling all its glory and all its pathos; with a grotesque humour underlying the whole, and, as in Thackeray's writings, occasionally rising to the relief of the oppression caused by deep pathos and heroism. Mr. Trevelyan combines a well-balanced rhythmical simple diction which accords well with the subject of his narrative, and gives promise of the highest excellence as an historical writer, should he ever turn his thoughts in that direction.

It may be as well here to state that the account contains several trifling inaccuracies of detail, which could only be of importance to those actually concerned in the defence, but which, nevertheless, it may be as well to point out. Throughout the account Mr. Trevelyan speaks of Mr. Wake as Collector of Arrah, and of 'the house' as being occupied by the Collector. Mr. Wake was at the time Magistrate only, not Collector, and the house was in the occupation neither of the Collector nor of Mr. Wake, but of Mr. Boyle, the Railway Resident Engineer. The fortification of the building was entirely Mr. Boyle's work, both in its conception and execution, and he deserves the more credit for it, as it was carried on not without the ridicule and discouragement of other residents at the station. We would willingly extract the whole of this letter, but space forbids, and we must omit the description of the two episodes of relief coming from opposite quarters—Dunbar's unsuccessful endeavour

ending in defeat and disaster, and Eyre's skilful and gallant achievement, resulting in the rout of Koer Sing's forces and the succour of the devoted garrison. In reference to the account of the battle at Bebeegunge it may be as well to notice that it has been altered slightly in accordance with the correction which General Eyre published in regard to certain details of the fight, as originally described by Mr. Trevelyan in *Macmillan's Magazine*. Mr. Trevelyan, in relating the fight, said:—'A young Officer by name Hastings, not relishing the idea of standing still to be shot down, ran forward sword in hand towards the point where the enemy stood thickest with a dozen volunteers, and twice as many account at his heels.' General Eyre very naturally objected to this soldiers as not strictly accurate, since it omitted all reference to the fact that the charge was directed by the officer commanding the force; that Hastings was merely obeying his orders, and that the men were led on by their own officers. The inaccuracy has now been rectified, but we notice the matter because the contradiction, such as it is, has been made use of in order to throw doubts on Mr. Trevelyan's general accuracy and credibility, but without any good reason. Had Mr. Trevelyan been writing a military Despatch, giving an account of the fight for the information of a superior officer, such a statement, giving undue prominence to the proceedings of a volunteer, and omitting to mention the part taken by the regular Officers of the Force, and the controlling action of the chief authority, might most justly be objected to, but it must be remembered that Mr. Trevelyan was writing for the general reader, and dwelt consequently on the picturesque incidents, rather than on the military aspect of the affair. Who objects to the narrator of a shipwreck, saying that Mr. A., a passenger, organised a working party, and that to their exertions at the pumps the safety of the vessel was mainly due? It is understood that the Captain and officers of the vessel were about their own duties, but it is the voluntary nature of the passenger's work which at once attracts attention. In describing a fire, what writer does not leave the regular and organised proceedings of the firemen, to dwell on the heroism of individual volunteers, who have attempted to save the lives of others at the risk of their own? And similarly, we find nothing blameworthy in the inaccuracy which Mr. Trevelyan committed in giving an unofficial and historically undue prominence to the volunteer element over the strictly military element in the eventful proceedings of that day,—and they were most eventful. The fight was against fearful odds, and had Major (now General) Vincent Eyre, hesitated or blundered in the



smallest degree ; had he not in fact been the skilful commander as well as the gallant soldier that he was, the sequel of that day would inevitably have seen the Arrah garrison destroyed, the whole of Behar (with perhaps the exception of the Dinapore Cantonment) lost to us, and the march of Outram and Havelock to the relief of Lucknow indefinitely, if not fatally, delayed. With these remarks, we give in his own words as much of Mr. Trevelyan's account of the siege as our space will permit :—

' On Saturday, the 25th of July, Mr. Wake, the Collector, received an express from Dinapore, bidding him be on his guard, for that something was in the air. There followed a night of suspense, which was changed into terrible certainty by the arrival of a mounted patrol, who came in with the information that a strong force of sepoys had crossed the Soane, and that large numbers were still crossing. Then it became too evident that "some" "one had blundered." The moment had come when a resolution must be taken—hurried, but irrevocable. A few hours more, and the enemy would be upon them ; the country people in arms, the roads impassable, and the bridges broken up for thirty miles round. While their communications were still open, should they retreat on Buxar, and wait there till they could be brought back to their posts by the returning tide of European reconquest ? It was too late to avert the destruction of their property ; too late to keep the town to its allegiance, and save the treasure and the public records. There was nothing which they could stow behind their slender defences—save the empty name of British rule. Was it worth while to run so frightful a risk for a shadow ? Why, for an advantage so doubtful, expose their dear ones to anxiety worse than death—to bereavement and desertion at such a time and in such a plight ? On the other hand, should they skulk off like outlaws through the province which had been entrusted to their care—where, but yesterday, their will was law—leaving the district ready to receive the rebels with open arms, and afford them a firm foothold on the south of the Ganges—another Oudh, whence they might securely direct their future efforts against our power, which already tottered to the fall ? If the rest of Shahabad must go, the authority of old England and of John Company—the most generous of masters—should be upheld at least within the walls of one billiard-room, which was to witness such a game as never did billiard-room yet ; a game at hopeless odds, amateurs opposed to professionals, fairplay to knavery ; a game where history stood by as marker, and where no starrng could recover a life once taken ; a game which one losing hazard would undo, one cannon almost inevitably ruin ; but which Wake and his fellows, as with clear eyes, brave hearts, and steady hands they awaited the opening stroke, were fully determined should not be a love game.

' There was no time to be lost. Rice and flour sufficing for a few days' consumption, and what other provisions came first to hand, were quickly stored in the house. The supply of water, which could be collected on such short notice, was alarmingly scanty. And then they made haste to enter their ark, before the flood of sedition and anarchy should engulf everything around. The garrison consisted of Herwald Wake, the Collector ; young Colvin, and two other Civilians ; Boyle, the Engineer, the Vauban of the siege ; Mr. Hall, a Civil Surgeon ; an official in the Opium Agency, and his assistant ; a Government Schoolmaster ; two native public employés and five other Europeans in various subordinate grades ; forty-five



'Privates, two Naiks, two Havildars, and one Jemadar—names which so painfully bewilder an English reader of the list of killed and wounded in the Gazette after an Indian victory—true Sikhs all, staunch as steel, and worthy to be the countrymen of the heroes of Chillianwallah. Six-and-sixty fighting men by tale, with no lack of pluck and powder, but very badly off for meat and drink.

'On Monday morning the sepoys poured into the town, and marched straight to the Treasury, from which they took 85,000 rupees in cash. After this indispensable preliminary, they proceeded to carry out the next step in the programme usual in these occasions—the slaughter of every one connected with the Government. It was very thoughtful of the Sahibs to have collected in one place, so as to spare Jack Sepoy the trouble of hunting them down in detail. It was best, however, to do the job in style; so a strong detachment was formed in column, and marched into the compound with drums beating and colours flying. It would give the men a good appetite for their curry to knock the dozen or so of quill-drivers and railway people on the head in the hole where they had taken refuge; and, if those unlucky Punjabees could not see on which side their chupatties were buttered, why, it should be the worse for them! But through every loophole in the brickwork on the first-floor peered an angry Englishman, feeling at the trigger of his bone-crushing rifle, behind which he had stood the charge of many a tiger and buffalo—unless, indeed, he was one of the school of sportsmen who prefer a smooth-bore for anything under eighty yards; while in the cellars below, and beneath the breastwork on the roof lurked half a hundred warriors of that valiant sect whom no other native army could look in the face. Just as the leading ranks were passing a fine tree, which grows a stone-throw from the house, they received a volley which laid eighteen of their number dead on the spot. As this made it evident that the Sahibs intended to die game, the mutineers, who had come out for a battue, and not on a storming-party, broke line, and dispersed behind the trees scattered about the compound, whence they kept up a desultory fire.'

The episode of Dunbar's disastrous march to the relief of the garrison is well and powerfully told, and faint were the hopes of the ultimate rescue which then remained to the garrison.

'The opinion which prevailed in Calcutta certainly coincided with that of Koer Sing and his army. Throughout the night none of the defenders of the house had slept. They listened with sickening anxiety to the noise of the firing, now beguiling themselves into the idea that it was drawing nearer; now desponding as it remained ever stationary; and again comforting each other with the theory that their countrymen had taken up a strong position in the suburbs, and would advance to their relief at break of day. Alas! they little knew what that day would bring forth. But, when morning came, and the reports of the musketry grew fainter and fainter, till they died away in the distance, their hearts sank within them. They were not long left in suspense; for the besiegers had no intention of keeping such good news to themselves, and they were speedily informed that the force from Dinapore had been cut to pieces, and that their last hope was gone. Yet not the last—for they still had the hope of dying sword in hand, instead of being tamely murdered like all who had hitherto put trust in the word of their treacherous and unforgiving Eastern foe. That foe now offered the whole party their lives, if they would give up Wake and Syed Azimooddeen Khan, the Deputy-Collector, a native for whom the Sahib of

' Sahibs, Lord William Bentinck, had entertained a great regard. This proposal having been rejected, nothing more was said about conditions of surrender, and both sides applied themselves to the serious business of the siege.

' The enemy had fished out from some corner two cannon—a four-pounder, and a two-pounder—the smaller of which they placed at the angle of the bungalow facing the little house, while they hoisted the larger on to the roof. They adopted the plan of loading the gun behind the parapet, and then running it on to the top of the portico, and wheeling out an arm-chair fitted with a shotproof screen of boards, on which sat a man who aimed and discharged the piece. It was then drawn back with ropes to be spunged out and re-charged. This method of working artillery would perhaps be considered somewhat primitive at Shoburness or Woolwich; but, when employed against a billiard-room at a range of forty yards, the result might justly be described as a *feu d'enfer*. For some time the besieged fully expected that their walls would come tumbling down about their ears; but they soon took heart of grace, and set themselves manfully to repair the damage caused by breaching battery No. 1. Fortunately the store of cannon-balls was soon exhausted. The enemy eked it out by firing away the castors of Mr. Wake's piano, of which the supply, however, was necessarily limited. Meanwhile, the sepoys had lined the garden wall, which at that time ran within twenty yards of the rear of the house. From this position their picked marksmen directed their shots at the loopholes, while from the trees around, from the ditch of the compound, from the doors and windows of the bungalow, an incessant fire was maintained throughout the twenty-four hours. If Mr. Boyle's fortification, like Jericho, could have been brought to the ground by noise, it would certainly not have stood long. The mutineers, in imitation of the besiegers of Mansoul, in Bunyan's "Holy War," seemed determined to try all the senses round, and to enter at Nose-gate if they were repulsed at Eargate.'

They tried what effect the decomposing carcases of dead horses, and the burning of chillies to windward of the garrison would have, but all to no avail.

' Since the first day the mutineers fought shy of any attempt to carry the place by storm, and not without reason. For, as a reserve of their trusty rifles, each Sahib had his fowling piece with a charge of No. 4 shot for close quarters, lying singly in the left barrel. Then they had hog spears, and knew how to use them. They had revolvers too, with a life in every chamber,—the weapon, that is the very type of armed civilisation. On the whole the besiegers were not far wrong in regarding an attack by open force as a resource to be adopted only when all other devices had failed.

' Meanwhile the temper of the people inside was as true as the metal of their gunlocks. Englishmen are always inclined to look at the bright side of things as long as there is a bright side at which to look, and the English spirit was well represented there. Young Colvin was especially cheerful himself, and the cause that cheerfulness was in other men. The whole party accommodated their habits to their circumstances with great good humour. The Sikhs occupied the cellarage. The Sahibs lived and slept in the single room on the first floor, and took their meals sitting on the stairs above and below the landing-place. On the wall above the hearth, Wake wrote a journal of the events of each day, in full expectation that no other record would be left of what had taken place within those

‘devoted walls. One morning the Jemadar reported that the water with which his men had provided themselves had all been drunk, so natives and English together set to work to dig a well in one of the vaults, and within twelve hours they had thrown out eighteen feet of earth by four, a depth at which they found abundance of water. At the end of the week close observation convinced them that the sepoys were engaged in running a mine towards the back of the house. This justly gave them greater alarm than any other machination of the enemy. But necessity is the mother of counterminers, and these amateur sappers soon made themselves as secure against the new peril that threatened them as their scanty means would admit.’

Then came the brilliant exploit of Major Eyre, who, with a cruelly small force of Europeans from Ghazeepore, and a handful of mounted volunteers from Buxar, succeeded in beating Koer Sing with his three native regiments, backed by the whole armed rabble of the district, and in forcing his way to Arrah. The sequel of Major Eyre’s victory we quote without omission:—

‘When the garrison looked out of their loopholes at dawn, on the 3rd, they were surprised at seeing none of the besiegers stirring in the neighbourhood. As they were not the men to wait tamely for what might befall them without doing something to help themselves, they sallied forth, and took this opportunity to get some fresh air and replenish their larder. After a hard chase about the compound, they succeeded in capturing four sheep, which they brought back into the house amidst great rejoicing, together with one of the enemy’s cannon. Presently the boom of guns was heard in the distance, and excited a strange hope which, but just now, they expected never again to experience. Towards evening the beaten rebels poured into the town in dire confusion. They stayed only to collect their plunder—in the sense in which the word is employed both by a Yankee and an Englishman—and marched off, bag and baggage, never more to visit Arrah, with the exception of a few who returned from time to time in order to be present at their own execution. On the morning of Tuesday, the 4th of August, there was not a sepoy within miles of the station. And then our countrymen came forth, unwashed, unshaved, begrimed with dust and powder, haggard with anxiety and want of sleep, but very joyous and thankful at heart: pleased to stand once more beneath the open sky, and to roam fearlessly through their old haunts, in which the twittering of birds and the chirping of grasshoppers had succeeded to the ceaseless din of musketry; pleased with the first long draught of sherry and soda-water, and with the cool breath of dawn after the atmosphere of a vault without window or punkah filled to suffocation with the smoke of their rifles. With what fervour must they have offered their tribute of praise and gratitude to Almighty God—not for having smitten Amalek, and discomfited Moab; not for having overthrown their enemies, and dashed in pieces those that rose up against them; not for having abated the pride of Koer Sing, assuaged his malice, and confounded his devices—but because in His mercy He so decreed, and in His wisdom so arranged the order of the world, that civilisation should prevail over brute force, fair dealing over treachery, and manly valour over sneaking cruelty, that so all things might work together for our good and His honour!’

‘There are moments when an oppressive sense of Nineteenth Century weighs heavy on the soul; when we shudder to hear Mr. Cobden



‘pronounce that one number of the *Times* newspaper is worth the eight books of Thucydides. There are moments when we feel that locomotives and powerlooms are not everything; that black care sits behind the stoker; that death knocks with equal foot at the door of the Turkey Red Yarn Establishment. Then it is good to turn from the perusal of the share list; from pensive reflections on the steadiness of piece-goods, the langour of gunny cloths, and the want of animation evinced by mule-twist, to the contemplation of qualities which are recognised and valued by all ages alike. It is good to know that trade and luxury, and the march of science, have not unnerved our wrists, and dulled our eyes, and turned our blood to water. There is much in common between Leonidas dressing his hair before he went forth to his last fight, and Colvin laughing over his rice and salt while the bullets pattered on the wall like hail. Still, as in the days of old Homer, “Cowards gain neither honour nor safety; but men who respect themselves and each other for the most part go through the battle unharmed.” Still, as in Londonderry of old, the real strength of a besieged place consists not in the scientific construction of the defences, nor in the multitude of the garrison, nor in abundant stores of provision and ordnance, but in the spirit which is prepared to dare all, and endure all, sooner than allow the assailants to set foot within the wall. Though but six years have passed away, the associations of the events which I have related begin to grow dim. So changeable are the elements of Anglo-Indian society that only one of the defenders of the fortification is now resident at the station. Already the wall, on which Wake wrote the diary of the siege, has been white-washed; and the inclosure, where the dead horses lay through those August days, has been destroyed; and a party wall has been built over the mouth of the well in the cellars; and the garden-fence, which served the mutineers as a first parallel, has been moved twenty yards back. Half a century more, and every vestige of the struggle may have been swept away. But, as long as Englishmen love to hear of fidelity and constancy, and courage bearing up the day against frightful odds, there is no fear lest they forget the name of the little house at Arrah.’

In his letter on ‘the truth about the Civil Service’ Mr. Trevelyan has taken a fair and sensible view, which is likely not to be without its effect on the minds of intending competitors. Though differing widely from the magnificent picture drawn originally by Lord Macaulay and the Civil Service Commissioners, and now annually repeated in the *Times* shortly before the examination takes place, his view is still very favourable. He does not pretend that very first-class men from the Universities desert the bar and the ranks of political life to come to India, or that they would be acting reasonably if they did, but he points out that for the first ten years or so of a man’s public career, the Civil Service is greatly preferable to the usual run of professional life at home. The aspiration to be of some use in the world is satisfied by an amount of interesting and responsible work which is imposed by the necessity of the case on the youngest Civilian



from the day he joins his first appointment, and which goes on constantly increasing both in amount and in interest throughout his career. He is enabled, moreover, to keep his mind free from the constant worry of pecuniary embarrassment ; he can marry young ; he is tolerably sure to be estimated at his real value, and, if he has anything in him, to come before long to the front. Mr. Trevelyan remarks in young Civilians in India the absence of that spirit of discontent and longing for a 'sphere,' which is so common among able young men at home. It may be questioned perhaps if this is the universal characteristic of the service, possibly Mr. Trevelyan may have been particularly fortunate in his experience of Mofussil Officers, but assuredly if a young Civilian is discontented with his lot, save on the score of ill-health, it is impossible to conceive any position in life which would content him. In after years it is different. The 'draw-backs of Indian life begin,' says Mr. Trevelyan, 'to be severely felt when it becomes necessary to send the first-born home. From that period until his final retirement there is little domestic comfort for the father of the family.' Nor, when he has retired, is he a gainer, by comparison with his contemporary who has stuck to an English profession. Macaulay in contrasting the Civilian of thirty years ago with the Nabob of Lord Clive's time, and making therefore his estimate rather below than above the mark, speaks of him as going home at forty-five with an annuity of £1,000 a year, and with savings to the extent of £30,000. Although men now live in a very much quieter and less extravagant style than they did then, that estimate would at present be deemed preposterously high. A Civilian going home at the age of forty-five, if he has been very careful and tolerably lucky, may hope to take home with him savings to the extent of £10,000, and an annuity at the utmost of £800. Macaulay's standard would be reached in these days by no one under thirty years' service and by very few under thirty-five. Supposing therefore that the Civilian lives to retire at the age of fifty, (the chances, however, being against him on this point), and supposing him to have sufficient health left to enjoy life, he still finds himself at home a comparatively poor man. He is conscious, as Mr. Trevelyan says, 'of a certain craving for the daily occupation to which he has been accustomed since his boyhood ; he misses the secure and important position he has so long held ; he feels the want of the old friends with whom he lived during his prime, the old habits and associations which are as familiar to him as household words ;' and, worse than all, he is in most cases unable to adapt himself to the mental atmosphere of the

new world in which he finds himself; he 'is in danger of becoming an honourable and public-spirited bore.' Unless he takes unremitting care of his intellectual health, by a conscientious perusal of the English newspapers and periodicals; by a certain 'modicum of standard reading, and by a furlough judiciously spent in London society, and continental travel, he can no more expect, on his return, to enter kindly into English interests and English conversation, than he can hope to enjoy roast beef and plum-pudding with his digestion impaired by hot curries and Manilla cheroots;' and what does he give up for this? We quote in Mr. Trevelyan's own words the contrast which he draws between the life of an English statesman at home and in Calcutta, but which is no less applicable to the life of a successful Civilian here as compared with what his life might have been as a successful barrister and M. P.

'As it is, he exchanges the excitements and amenities of London and country-house life; the long cool sleep, the breakfast seasoned by a fresh appetite and the *Times* newspaper, the afternoon ride in the park, the chat in the smoking-room at his club, cut short by a telegraphic summons to a division on the Irish Drainage Bill, the speech-day at Harrow, where he sees his first-born quarrel with Cassius and cringe before Sir Anthony Absolute as he quarrelled and cringed a quarter of a century before, the heather in August, the run with Lord Fitzwilliam, purchased at the price of a wiggling from the Treasury whip, a night in the train, and a breakfast in the refreshment-room at the Shoreditch Station—he exchanges all this, for what? For the privilege, at forty or fifty years of age, of entering upon a life of compulsory hypochondria and inevitable valetudinarianism; measuring his food by ounces, and his drink by gills; abstaining from fruit by the advice of one old Indian, and from ice-pudding at the warning of another; rising six times in the night to kick his punkah-bearer awake; issuing forth, after fevered broken slumbers, for a dreary objectless constitutional; growing weak, thin, languid, and still slaving on till a definite malady overtakes him; then, tossing outside the Sandhead in a dirty, comfortless pilot-brig, in the vain hope of staving off the inevitable; returning to the hateful city to work again, to droop, to despair, to rally once during the short winter months, and then to sicken for the last time. Eight thousand a year and the title of Honourable are dear indeed at such a price.'

In the same letter which furnishes us with the above extracts Mr. Trevelyan expounds a scheme, which we believe was strongly supported by Lord Canning, for removing the seat of Government to the table-land of Central India in the neighbourhood of Jubbulpore.

The scheme is easy to criticise, and under other circumstances we might be tempted to dwell on the expense, the insecurity, the inutility of the transfer. But it is not to be expected that, writing as we do in Calcutta, at the end of the month of June,

with the thermometer in most offices at 93° ; with the air saturated with moisture, and yet no appearance of the rains, we should argue for the retention in this noxious vapour-bath of any soul that can possibly escape from it, still less for the retention here of the seat of Government. Mr. Trevelyan's remarks about Calcutta, which, when read in the cold weather, seemed exaggerated and uncalled-for, come back to us now with only too painful a reality. ' People have settled themselves down to be clammy and ' gloomy and hepatic for six grilling months. The younger and ' more vigorous effloresce with a singularly unpleasant eruption, ' known as prickly heat, a condition which is supposed to be a ' sort of safety-valve for feverish tendencies, and which therefore ' excites the envy of all who are not so blessed. Conceive a ' climate such that an exquisitely painful cutaneous disorder is ' allowed to be fair subject of congratulation. And in such a ' plight amidst a temperature of 97° in the shade, and anything ' ranging from headache to apoplexy in the sun, men are sup- ' posed to transact official work from morn till stewy eve. Is it ' fair to expect high efficiency under such circumstances ? Are ' enlarged views compatible with enlarged livers ? No strain is ' put upon the reflective powers of Strasburg geese. Their most ' active mental exercise is a vague consciousness of an increasing ' weight under the right wing, and why should English gentlemen ' be debarred from a privilege extended to Alsatian fowls ?

It is hard to deny the truth of the following passage, or to doubt the justice of the conclusion which Mr. Trevelyan draws, that from such a place, the removal of the seat of Government to a healthy climate is worth any cost ; but somehow we are still inclined to believe, that political capitals, like political constitutions, to be of any use must be allowed to grow, and that if adopted ready-made, they are found, like ready-made clothes, to be ill-fitting and uncomfortable.

' The European army in Bengal has, hitherto, disappeared in every ten ' and a-half years. This computation of course includes the men who have ' been invalided. The yearly mortality among the officers rises from nine ' to the thousand in London, to twenty-four to the thousand in Bengal. ' The Civilians, by dint of horse-exercise, and ice, and cool rooms, and trips ' to Simla, and furloughs to Europe, and (a better medicine than any) con- ' stant and interesting occupation, keep down their average to something over ' seventy in the thousand. But a hard-worked official finds no lack of indi- ' cations that he is not at Malvern or Torquay. After his first year in ' Calcutta, an Englishman can no longer sleep as he once slept, or eat as he ' once ate, and it is lucky if he drinks no more than he once drank. If you ' asked him to run, he would laugh in your face. I sometimes think that ' our uniform success in Indian warfare may be partially due to the fact that ' our countrymen, by long disuse, lose the power of running away. Above ' all, the mental faculties deteriorate surely and rapidly in this hateful



'climate. The mind, like the body, becomes languid and flabby and nerveless. Men live upon the capital of their energy and intellect, backed by occasional remittances from home, or from the hills. While this *sudarium* continues to be the seat of Government, the public interests do not suffer only under the head of sick allowances and pensions;—the work done here by the servants of the Crown is far inferior in quality and quantity to what it would be in a more congenial air.'

We have passed over Mr. Trevelyan's account of a week's hunting expedition in the Nepal Terai. It is, perhaps, the most pleasantly told part of the whole book, but our extracts have already been sufficiently numerous, and it is only fair to refer our readers to Mr. Trevelyan's sixth letter to read it for themselves. It will be gratifying to some, we doubt not, to read how Mr. Trevelyan's horse, having said 'Ha Ha', proceeded to pitch him over his head, and to eat him like a radish from the feet upwards. The horse was a planter's horse, and by prophetic instinct, desired to avenge on his rider, the attacks which Mr. Trevelyan, perhaps, was even then contemplating against the Indigo system. The owner of the horse, however, preserved him from untimely mastication, and to him, therefore, our thanks are due for the most pleasantly written account that we have ever seen of a hunting excursion, undertaken in a new and a magnificent country, by a party, the members of which were all on excellent terms with themselves and each other, and determined to enjoy every thing, the freshness of the forest, 'the delight of early skies, the delight of happy laughter, the delight of quaint replies,' and where their enjoyment of the whole scene was perhaps in nowise diminished by their proceedings being conducted in an outrageously incorrect and unsportsmanlike manner.

In his ninth letter, the Competition-wallah, (we wish most intensely that he had adopted some shorter *nom de plume*) contrasts the British temper towards India before, during, and after the mutinies. For artistic purposes he is, perhaps, right to select, as he has done, the strongest examples of each phase through which this feeling has gone, but undoubtedly in this case, as in many others, antithesis is made perfect at the expense of accuracy. The interest taken in Native education by the group of remarkably able men who were the colleagues of Macaulay in the Educational Committee of 1835, affords admirable material for a telling picture of the first phase. Against this, no doubt, the languid interest of the officials of the present day, and the general contempt of the Bengalee expressed in some of the Calcutta papers, forms a most unfavourable contrast. But Mr. Trevelyan is mistaken in attributing this entirely to political



causes, such as the mutinies, and the subsequent Indigo, Rent, and Contract controversies. He has overlooked a very important element which lies, it is true, somewhat below the surface, but which, if unheeded, will effectually vitiate any speculations on the political aspect of the question.

It must be remembered that in 1835, the educated Bengalees with whom the group of men delineated in the letter before us, came mostly into contact, were a very small class; that the avowed object of the exertions of Macaulay and his friends was to increase this class, and raise up a body of men who should interpret between their rulers and their countrymen, and who should be the means of spreading the knowledge imparted to them, to the masses beneath them. The relation, therefore, between the English gentlemen alluded to, and the small body of educated Bengalees then existing, was principally that of patron and client; but this relation has now altogether changed. There is no longer any room for this kind of patronage. The work which the educators set themselves to do has been done, and the class of educated Bengalees is now strong enough to stand by itself. In number, they equal the population of a large town. There are in Calcutta quite as many 'Anglo-Bengalee newspapers,' (papers published in English, but edited, written, and supported entirely by Bengalees) as there are purely English ones; the class is represented by an Association not without considerable political significance; they criticise the proceedings of their rulers with more freedom than any Continental press in Europe; they adopt the cries and watch-words of English liberty, with a perfect though unappreciative imitation which is 'almost pathetic in its simplicity'; in one word, they have made their position rather that of rivals than of clients, and patronage is out of the question. The Englishman and the Bengalee must for the future run their course side by side in this country, and it may be (who knows?) that as in other departments of life, the race will be run none the less peaceably at the end for their having commenced it with a little aversion.

Mr. Trevelyan's description of Indian feeling during the mutiny is so vivid and so true, that we quote from it at some length:—

'Then came the tidings of the outbreak at Meerut; of the massacre at Delhi. The first impression produced by the intelligence was curiosity mingled with pity, and surprise that, any interesting thing could come out of India. But as every mail brought a fresh story of horror and disaster, a significant change came over the face of society. If the sympathy and indignation inspired by an outrage is intense in proportion to the faculty of suffering in the victim, here was a case in which indignation and sympathy could

‘know no bounds; for the victims belonged to the most refined and enlightened class of the first nation in the world. Ladies, bred and nurtured amidst all that wealth and affection could afford, were dragged along, under a June sun, in the ranks of the mutineers, in hourly expectation, and soon in hourly hope, of death. Officers, who had been trained to the duties of Government by the best education which the mother-country could supply; Judges, Magistrates, men of science, men of letters, were pelted to death with brickbats, or hung, amidst shouts of laughter, after a mock trial. Then from the lowest depths of our nature emerged those sombre, ill-omened instincts, of whose very existence we had ceased to be aware. Intense compassion, intense wrath, the injured pride of a great nation—those combative propensities against which Mr. Bright has so often testified in vain—surged in upon the agitated community. It was tacitly acknowledged that mercy, charity, the dignity and sacredness of human life—those great principles which at ordinary times, are recognised as eternally true—must be put aside till our sway was restored, and our name avenged. It is well that nations, as men, should pray to be delivered from temptation. Two months of Nana Sahib brought about an effect on the English character at the recollection of which Englishmen at home have already learned to blush, but the lamentable consequences of which will be felt in India for generations yet unborn or unthought of.

‘Who does not remember those days, when a favourite amusement on a wet afternoon, for a party in a country house, was to sit on and about the billiard-table devising tortures for the Nana? when the palm was given to that ingenious gentleman who proposed that he should be forced, first, to swallow a tumbler of water in which all the blue papers in a seidlitz-powder box had been emptied, and then a tumbler with the contents of all the white papers in a state of solution? when every one chuckled to hear how General Neill had forced high Brahmans to sweep up the blood of the Europeans murdered at Cawnpore, and then strung them in a row, without giving them the time requisite for the rites of purification. “Have you heard the news?” said a celebrated author to an acquaintance, as they stood together under the porch of the Athenæum. “The sepoys have taken to inflicting the most exquisite cruelties upon the Sikhs, and the Sikhs in return swear that they will cut the throat of every sepoy who comes in their way. These are the sort of tidings that now-a-days fill every heart in England with exultation and thankfulness.” During the first debate at the Union Society, in my first term, an orator wound up with these remarkable words:—“When the rebellion has been crushed out from the Himalayas to Comorin; when every gibbet is red with blood; when every bayonet creaks beneath its ghastly burden;\* when the ground in front of every cannon is strewn with rags, and flesh, and shattered bone;—then talk of mercy. Then you may find some to listen. This is not the time.” This peroration was received with a tumult of applause by an assembly whose temper is generally characterised by mild humanity, modified by an idolatrous attachment to the memory of Archbishop Laud. If you turn over the volume of *Punch* for the latter half of 1857, you will probably open on a picture representing a big female, with a helmet and a long sword, knocking about a black man, in appearance something between a gorilla and a soldier in one of our West Indian Regiments, who is standing over a dead woman and child. Two palmtrees in the background mark the locality, and the whole production is labelled “Justice,” or “Nemesis,” or “O

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\* *Sic in orig.*—Note by the Author.



“God of Battles, steel my soldiers’ hearts !” What must have been the fury of the outburst which could transport to such lengths that good-natured and sensible periodical, which so admirably reflects the opinions of a good-natured and sensible nation !

Such was the feeling in England ; and, being such, it was only the faint shadow of the state of things in India. For out here men were influenced, not only by pity and wrath, intensified by the immediate presence of the objects of those passions, but by shame, by the bitterness of bereavement and ruin, by an ever-present fear, by the consciousness of an awful risk which they had barely escaped, and of innumerable perils still to come. History shudders at the recollection of the terrible Spanish fury which desolated Antwerp in the days of William the Silent ; but the English fury was more terrible still. With the grim determination and the dogged pertinacity of their race, men went forth over the face of the land to shoot, and sabre, and hang, and blow from guns, till the work should be accomplished.”

We do not quote the stories with which he illustrates these views, as they are such as most of our readers have heard, or can match from their own experience, and after all they illustrate more the ignorance of the British private, than the vindictiveness which at the time had full sway. And now, as Mr. Trevelyan says, who can ‘wonder that among a generation which has gone through such a crisis, philanthropy is somewhat at a discount’ ? Had he remembered this in writing his last chapter, and had he hesitated to recall some of the most painful feelings connected with the mutiny ; had he spared to exhibit the lurid glare which the fires of hate and vengeance, not then burnt out, cast on us, and in this light to hold us up to his English readers as monsters of savage cruelty and ferocity, he would have made his work not less complete, and saved himself from much ungracious criticism. In this letter Mr. Trevelyan exhibits the first signs of his bitter indignation against the course pursued by what he calls the Anglo-Saxon party, which we shall discuss more in detail in regard to the contents of his next letter. But it is necessary to point out here, that in attributing to the community at large the outrageous sentiments in reference to such cases as those of Rudd and Hely, which were the exclusive property of one journal, Mr. Trevelyan is greatly in error. He takes occasion to point out that the *Englishman* abstained from joining in them, and he may rest assured that on this point the *Englishman* was a much more faithful exponent of public opinion, than the paper from which all his extracts are quoted.

And now we come to that part of the work, of which it is impossible for us to speak without regret. The letter on the Contract Law, entitled ‘The Anglo-Saxon party in India,’ is disfigured by a spirit of bitterness and controversial injustice,

which the author's sincerest admirer will most deeply deplore, and which has converted the friendly criticism of the Indian press into a series of bitter retorts, which, if undeserved, assuredly could not have been unexpected. Had the article appeared in an Indian publication in the midst of the angry controversy that raged in 1862, we should not have been inclined to object seriously to it. It would have been accepted at the time as the contribution of an able partisan in a bitter and exciting controversy, when the views of the opposite party were constantly being put forward no less bitterly, and when it was expected that every man would hit out well for his own side, without caring much as to what the other side would say. But Mr. Trevelyan's case is very different; the very value which we set on the first part of his work, as being addressed to English readers, and admirably adapted to interest them in Indian affairs, and to give them a fair view of Indian social and official life, renders the one-sidedness and exaggeration of this chapter a great blemish. As coming from one well able apparently to form an opinion, and likely to be altogether without prejudice on the subject, the view will be accepted by many as a true portrait of the unofficial Englishman in the East, and will go far to confirm the slowly vanishing tradition which represents the Englishman as leaving his conscience at the Cape (or in these days perhaps in the Red Sea), and sacrificing truth, justice, commercial honesty and uprightness, and all the qualities which an Englishman traditionally holds dear, to his selfish greed and lust of gain. In India, we are all familiar with the other side of this picture; we have heard,—quite enough perhaps,—of the enterprising Englishman, whose object is to benefit the ryots, no less than himself; who is forced by the system of the country to give advances, and having given them, finds the contract on which the advance was made broken, not with any reference to the fairness of the remuneration, or to the circumstances under which the contract was entered into, but solely by reason of the innate dishonesty of the native, and his unconquerable propensity for eating his cake and having it too.

But while, on the one hand, it is natural that those who take this view of the case should put it forward as their ground for demanding a contract law, and while on the other hand it is highly desirable that the people of England should be taught that this view is far from being the whole truth, it behoved a writer in the position of the Competition-wallah, who undertakes to instruct the readers of *Macmillan* on the true aspects of the controversy, to take a much larger and more impartial view of



it, and though he may vigourously espouse whichever side he considers just, he is not at liberty, in his capacity of public instructor, altogether to ignore the existence of the opposite view of the case.

Here is his summary of the controversy :—

‘Among all nations which enjoy the benefit of an enlightened and philosophical system of law, redress for the breach of a contract must, in the great majority of cases, be sought by means of a civil suit. The Anglo-Saxon party ardently desire an Act which shall punish breach of contract as a crime, which shall deal with the defaulter as if he were a thief or a smuggler. Their opponents are of opinion that no reason exists for subverting the principles of jurisprudence which, in their eyes, hold good in India as in old times they held good in Athens, in Rome, in Byzantium ; as they now hold good in Germany, in France, in England.

‘Now the clamour for a criminal contract law arose out of the Indigo disturbances, and the result of such a law would be to give the Planter a hold upon the ryots which would in practice render them little better than his slaves. For, unfortunately, the Hindoo mind is not firm enough to resist the temptation of a few ready rupees ; and the peasant proprietor, in consideration of a small advance in cash, will engage himself to supply Indigo at a price which cannot adequately repay his labour and outlay. The poor wretch soon begins to be aware that he has made a most disadvantageous bargain ; and, after a great deal of grumbling and hesitation, he sows his land with other crops, the produce of which will keep his family from starving. When the time comes for fulfilling his part of the contract, he brings in no Indigo at all, or less than the stipulated amount, trusting that the landlord will be deterred from seeking redress by the expense and annoyance of a civil suit.’

All this is possibly true enough, but it is a very small portion of the truth ; and if given as the whole truth it becomes practically false. In fact, the controversy is a most complicated one. On the one hand, we have the ryot, very poor certainly, and, though in much better circumstances than he was twenty years ago, still too poor to work without advances, and only too willing to take advances for any work, however impossible for him to execute. This ryot, it is to be remembered, has gone on paying the same rent for the same ground, for two or three generations, and has not succeeded in divesting himself of the notion that, so long as he pays his rent, he has, like his ancestors before him, a proprietary title in the land ; and he is consequently firm in the belief, that if his landlord raises his rent, it is of tyranny and not of right.

On the other hand, we have the Englishman, energetic, standing firmly on his rights as by law established ; not given much to the consideration of other people’s prejudices ; fully satisfied, and rightly satisfied, according to the authoritative interpretation of the law, that he, as Zemindar, is the sole proprietor of the land, and that the ryot (setting twelve years’ occupancy

apart) is merely a tenant-at-will, whose rent he can raise to any extent that he may find to be for his own interest. It is the business of his life to get Indigo, and he finds in existence a system under which the ryots on his land have constantly taken advances for Indigo, and under which, if those advances are not worked off, the debts of one season are allowed to hang over to be worked off during the next. It is not his business to reform the system, but to work to his own, or his employer's profit. Accordingly he gives advances for Indigo to as many ryots as can be induced to take them. When the time for growing Indigo is come, he finds that the ryot has spent the advances, and not grown the Indigo. To sue him in the Civil Court is an acknowledged failure. The ryot never has goods and chattels sufficient to cover a decree, or if he has, they are all removed before the decree can be executed. To put the ryot in jail is merely to keep him in idleness at the Planter's expense, while to sell up his house is to drive him off the land altogether. In such circumstances the cry for a criminal contract law cannot be considered altogether unreasonable, nor in fact would it be in any way such an entire subversion of the principles of jurisprudence as is supposed. The distinction in this case between a civil and criminal offence is singularly arbitrary and technical.

By the Penal Code, if A. takes an advance for the performance of a contract, which contract, at the time of taking the advance, *he had no intention of performing*, he has committed a criminal offence, and can be punished for cheating ; but if it can only be brought home to him that five minutes after taking the advance he found a more favourable opening and spent the money, binding himself in such a way as absolutely to preclude his fulfilling his former contract, then he can only be dealt with by a civil suit, and we are told, that to wish that he should be punished by a Criminal Court is to subvert the first principles of jurisprudence ! Nor is the fact of a criminal law being unnecessary in England much to the point. Contractors in England are men who can be sued in a Civil Court with some effect, and if so, it is decidedly better that this should be done, but it is only because the Civil Courts, as matters now stand, do not, and cannot, afford a sufficient security for the petty wrongs and losses inflicted by breach of contract in a country where every artisan, and almost every cultivator, requires an advance before commencing any sort of work, that we think those not altogether unreasonable who would put in force the maxim of *qui non habet in re, luat in corpore*.

All this affords very good grounds for demanding a criminal contract law, but it does not follow that a criminal contract law should be granted. It is very possible that in practice it would be found, not only an instrument of oppression and injustice, but a double-edged weapon, fatal to many besides those who fraudulently break their contract.

If, as urged by Mr. Trevelyan, 'the effect of a criminal contract law must inevitably be, that the peasants will refuse to 'make any contract whatever,' it should be hailed as a most welcome boon, for, by destroying the system of advances altogether, it would make the ryot a thousand times more independent, and would necessitate the exercise of a forethought and energy to which he is now a stranger. All question of a forced cultivation would in that case vanish, and one great difficulty in the Indigo system would be disposed of; but practically we doubt if this result would follow. At all events, the provisions in Mr. Maine's Bill, whereby breakers of contract can be tried cheaply and expeditiously in Courts of Small Causes, and specific performance be enforced, are in every way preferable to the bare criminal law which has been proposed, and it is greatly to be hoped that these will meet the requirements of the case.

We do not differ much, it will be seen, from the conclusions of Mr. Trevelyan,—the fact that at the whole root of the difficulty is the insufficiency of price offered for Indigo in comparison with other crops, cannot for one instant be doubted, after the enquiries made by the Indigo Commission. The Planters themselves, indeed, do not profess that one Rupee for six bundles is remunerative *per se* to the ryot. They say that it is better for the ryot to give six bundles of Indigo for one Rupee, and hold his land at eight annas a beegah, than to cultivate any other crop, and pay one Rupee per beegah for his land. We purposely omit here all reference to the ingenious but startling suggestion recently put forward by the Landholders' and Commercial Association, in their correspondence with the Bengal Government, to the effect that Indigo, properly speaking, takes the place of the fallow season, and consequently is a pure gain to the ryot; for, independently of the very doubtful question, whether Indigo does not take quite as much out of the ground as rice or any of the cereals, (which if true would render its occupation of the ground when it should be fallow most destructive) there remains the undoubted fact, that throughout all the discussions which preceded the Indigo Commission, and which would now appear to be starting into life again, nobody has ever dared to assert that Indigo is only grown when, according to a previous rotation, the



ground would otherwise lie fallow. Very possibly it ought only to be so grown, but it is not, and assuredly the ryots will learn with no less surprise than gratification, that in the selection of land for Indigo, the factory servants are scrupulously enjoined to see that rice land is not taken, and that only such portion of their land is to have Indigo sown in it, as would otherwise in the regular rotation of crops have had to be fallow.

O fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint  
Agricolas ;

only unfortunately the ryots know nothing of this as theory, and are hopelessly ignorant, not to say incredulous, of it as practice. As an element, therefore, in calculating the price of Indigo, this statement is perfectly futile, and may be set aside.

The whole gist of the problem lies in the double aspect of the question. If, as is urged by Mr. Trevelyan, we had to deal merely with the fact that the Planter, by unscrupulous oppression, forces the ryot to grow Indigo for him at unprofitable rates, the law and the Courts in their present state would soon solve the difficulty ; but against that the Planter says, ' If I, by merely holding in hand the power to raise rents, which is mine by law, can persuade the ryot to grow Indigo for me at my own rate, why should I not ? I give him therein a valuable consideration, which no one has a right to interfere with.' This is the problem, and it is much more complicated than the surface view which Mr. Trevelyan presents to his readers ; it is, in fact, the main problem of the day, and if not solved by Government is likely to solve itself in a very troublesome and explosive fashion. While, on the subject of this letter, we are bound to point out a most flagrant blunder into which Mr. Trevelyan has fallen. In letter No. X. he takes Mr. Laing most severely and justly to task for saying that, ' when the Indigo question had passed into a different phase, that of rent,' the Bengal Government passed an Act known as Act X. of 1860 (should be X. of 1859) with a view to strengthen the ryot's position, and define his proprietary title. He exposes the gross mis-statement of Mr. Laing in putting 1860 for 1859, and hereupon building an entirely false and unfounded theory, and then he adds, that the law was passed ' in the mid-heat and confusion of the Indigo troubles.' Now, though the Indigo troubles were clearly foreseen as a necessary consequence of the system, and those conversant with the facts had no doubt that the storm must come sooner or later, yet, as a matter of fact, the earliest mutterings of the storm, when it did come, were heard in December 1859, and



the earliest open manifestation was in March 1860. Act X. had been passed on 29th April 1859, and had become law in August of that year, after having been under public discussion since the close of 1857, when the Bill was first circulated, and it had no more to do either with the confusion of the Indigo troubles, or the phase which they afterwards took, than it had with the Agrarian Laws, or the Perpetual Settlement. To use Mr. Trevelyan's own words, as applied by him to Mr. Laing, we might say, 'A writer who has been betrayed into so flagrant an inaccuracy, .. must not be surprised if we hesitate to receive as Gospel his dictum concerning the contract law and the Indigo question.'

It is with great satisfaction that we turn from this letter to that in which the author gives his views on Christianity in India. It is too much perhaps to expect that an educated and earnest man of the present day should speak out his whole mind on this subject, nor indeed would there be any thing to gain if he did; but we believe his views are as fair a representation of those generally held by the more thoughtful among his countrymen in the East, as can be expected, on a subject about which the more a man thinks, the less he is willing to say.

That conversions are slack and little worth; that Christianity cannot be propagated as it was of old, either by the sword, or by condescending to adopt the garb of the religion it displaces; that in fact the Christianity of the present day is much too pure a religion to be widely propagated, except among a people (if it were possible for such to be found) already educated by civilisation very much up to the same standard as that of modern Europe, yet remaining with a less pure and refined creed, are facts more or less patent and indisputable. That the Deism into which the educated Bengalee naturally falls, and the general decay of Hindooism, are actual obstacles to the immediate spread of Christianity, we ourselves do not doubt, though these views are not likely to be universally acceptable; and, as our author says: 'It is possible that, after many decades, when the strongholds of tradition are battered down, and the barriers of caste are cut away, the majority of cultivated Hindoos will not be averse to accept the creed of their rulers,'—but this question, it seems to us, will depend very much on what at that time is the creed of their rulers; it will not, we may safely surmise, be the dogmatic theology of the present day, which we offer them timidly with one hand, while with the other we boldly urge on them the truths of physical science, and vainly hope that they will simultaneously accept the two. Those who discern the signs of the times must

see that by the time the natives of this country are sufficiently civilized to accept any Christianity that we can offer them, what we shall have to offer will be something very different from the stringent Gospel of Damnation against which Maurice and Jowett, the Essayists and Reviewers, Baden, Powell, and Colenso have striven not without the sympathy of intelligent laymen; and if, as Bacon says, the speculations of young men between twenty and thirty offer the surest prophetic index to the opinion of the next age, then we may hope, that our creed will be such as we can more unhesitatingly offer, and our subjects more readily accept.

We cannot part from our author without noticing his last letter. It is entitled 'Education in India since 1835.' It seems to be made up mainly of the *exuviae* remaining from his other letters, and is equal in some respects to the best of these; but it is unnecessarily disfigured by a perverse impetuosity which makes the author see in individual cases of cruelty and oppression, an index to the behaviour of the whole English community, and causes him to call up for our condemnation the long buried ghosts of old bitterness and cruelty, which we had hoped were hidden out of sight, together with the state of excitement and horror which gave them birth.

The letter begins with a noble and just tribute to the exertions of Macaulay in the cause of education in India, and Mr. Trevelyan, after describing accurately the controversy on this matter, which in 1834 raged with a bitterness to us almost incomprehensible, inserts at full length a Minute entitled, in the original edition, 'A hitherto unpublished Minute of Lord Macaulay.' This is the famous Minute of 2nd February 1835, which was not only *not* unpublished hitherto, but was to many of our Indian readers particularly well known. The Minute was published in England in 1838, and was again republished in one of the reports of the Director of Public Instruction at Madras; but being scarce, and at that time little known in India, was inserted two years ago by Mr. Woodrow in a small volume containing 'Macaulay's Minutes on Education in India,' and was thence transferred to most of the Indian newspapers.

From this point Mr. Trevelyan goes on to remark how satisfactory the liberal and elevated opinions of our educated Bengalees would be, were we sure of their being anything more than skin-deep, and very justly argues that we really know little or nothing of the native character.

This fact, however true, is assuredly not proved, as he would have us think, by the vast and mysterious organisation of the great mutiny. If there is one thing which time has more

surely demonstrated than another, it is that, of organisation in the sense in which we understand the term, the mutiny was altogether deprived. Without a head, without leaders, without a fixed plan, without settled times and seasons, without any common cause or common object, with their sole bond of union in the unreasoning fear of the privation of caste, which had spread through the whole army, and which happened to coincide with the equally unreasoning belief that they were more than a match for us ; through the whole course of mutiny, massacre, and plunder, regiment followed regiment as one sheep follows another ; two-thirds of the men knew not what they were to do, or why they were to do anything, till they saw their officers being shot down, and they themselves joined in the shooting ; and perhaps the only circumstances which exercised much influence on their movements, were the conveniences for plundering the Government Treasury, and the chances of being disarmed, or meeting European troops. The fact is, that this excessive proneness of native society to sudden universal movements, which are not the less irresistible, because they are utterly inexplicable and unreasonable, precludes the idea of organisation in the form and shape in which organisation is known in Europe. These movements are essentially, one and all, unreasoning, while organisation is a process of the highest reason. Could the vague feeling of alarm, which assuredly had possession of the native mind before the mutinies, have been moulded and welded into an organised machinery by some influential leader, the mutiny, fearful as it was, would have been a thousand times more difficult to trample out. The very instances which our author gives of the women along the whole course of the Ganges flinging their spindles into the river on the same day, and of the universal circulation of chupatties, of which no one knew the meaning, point clearly to the fact, that these movements, whatever their origin, spread like leaven in an unshaped lump, but are *not organised*, are not guided and directed, by some one head, with many hands, to one distinct and well-understood end. A characteristic case, similar to that of the spindles, has been recently brought to our knowledge. Throughout all the districts of Behar, the entire caste of Dosadhs—a low but numerous class of Hindoos, who furnish all the village watchmen, and a considerable proportion of the dacoits and burglars in those districts—have been seized by one universal movement, which is the more strange, as it involves a very severe self-sacrifice. By an order issued, no one knows whence, and communicated no one knows how, or with what object, the entire community of



Dosadhs have suddenly forsworn the drinking of spirits and the keeping of pigs. The latter was their chief ostensible means of livelihood, and the former their constant amusement. If asked why they do it, they explain that they will all die if it is not done ; but the origin and object of the movement are as incomprehensible as their unhesitating reception of it, and their ready belief in the sanction by which it is to be enforced.

In support of the foregoing reflections on our ignorance of the natives, Mr. Trevelyan makes extracts from the newspapers of those days, shewing the manner in which, as in the days of Noe, the English in India employed themselves before the mutiny ; they did eat, they drank, they married and were given in marriage, and thought of nothing, so little as of a bloody massacre, when the flood came and destroyed them. Even at this distance of time there is a cruel pathos in the contrasts exhibited in the pictures which he puts before us. We copy some of his extracts from the newspapers of the day, beginning with one concerning Delhi in the month of April 1857 :—

“ The bigwigs get the strawberries from the station-garden, while a new subscriber cannot get a sniff at the flowers.”

‘ Likewise—

“ A wedding talked of as likely to take place soon, but the names of the aspirants to Hymeneal bliss I will refrain from mentioning just yet, lest anything should occur to lessen their affection for each other before the knot is tied.”

‘ On the fifth day of May, a correspondent writes from that doomed place :—

“ As usual no news to give you. All quiet and dull. Certainly we are enjoying weather which at this season is wonderful. The morning and evening are deliciously cool. In fact, punkahs are hardly come into use.”

‘ On the eleventh day of May the English quarter was given over to murder, and rapine, and outrage. The Commissioner lay hewn in pieces inside the palace. Metcalfe, the Collector, was flying for his life through the streets of the city where his family had ruled for more than half a century. The mangled bodies of the officers of the 54th Native Infantry were heaped in a bullock-cart outside the walls. The fanatic troopers from Meerut, with all the scum of the bazaar at their heels, were hunting down and butchering the members of the quiet Christian community. The teachers had been slain in the lecture-room ; the chaplain in his study ; the telegraph clerk with his hand still on the signalling apparatus. The Editor of the *Gazette*, with his mother, wife, and children, died in the office of the journal. At the Delhi Bank fell Mr. Beresford, the Manager, with all his family, after a gallant and desperate resistance. Of those ladies, who a few days before were grumbling at the bearishness of the old Colonel, some were dragging themselves towards Meerut or Kurnaul, under the fierce noonday sun, bare-headed and with bleeding feet ; while others were lying unconscious in death, and therefore less to be pitied, on the platform in front of the police-office in the principal boulevard.



' The writer from Sealkote takes occasion to say that :—

" The future historian, when he traces the career of our rise, and perchance our fall, in this wondrous land, will love to dwell upon a picture like the present—a few score strangers dedicating their churches to be set apart from all profane uses for ever with such fixity of purpose, and with minds so assured as never for one moment to doubt the fulness of their faith in the future ; and this in the midst of millions distinct from them in race, religion, and feeling. The strength of the many made subservient to the will of the few, not by crushing armies from foreign lands, but by sowing the seeds of peace and order around—a land a few years ago bristling with bayonets, an enemy's country, now cheerfully acknowledging our rule, and avowing it to be a blessing—is a truth that has been sealed by the ceremony just concluded."

' Then comes a remarkable postscript :—

" The other day a telegraphic message was received, noted Urgent. The news ran like wildfire round the station, that the troops here were to march at once for Herat.\* But, alas ! it was—Can it be guessed ? Never ! That the sepoys who were learning the use of the Enfield were to have no more practice ammunition served out to them !"

' This supplies material for some humorous remarks, which end with the words—" Everything wears such a mysterious aspect to us benighted Sealkotians, that none dare venture an opinion, and we must wait till time and the *Englishman* enlighten us."

' They were to be soon enlightened by quite another agency—by a leading article written in a very different composition from printer's ink. One evening in July, Dr. Graham, the Superintending Surgeon of the station, begged a friend with whom he was dining, who had remarked on the insolent demeanour of the sepoys, not to let his fears get the better of his senses. The next morning an officer saw Miss Graham coming in the buggy, *apparently alone*, screaming and crying most piteously. He assisted in taking out her father's body.

' The Lucknow news in May 1857 consists chiefly in the badness of the road from Cawnpore.

" Soft blankets should be provided in the dawk carriages, and plenty of them. We have large plates of strawberries every morning. Calcutta people might well pay Lucknow a visit. Our hospitality is famous."

' Small thought had men of soft blankets and large plates of strawberries on that November day when the English host covered sixteen miles in length of that Cawnpore road, with the sad remnants of the immortal garrison marching in the centre, and among them threescore widows who had been wives when the siege began—the van hurrying forward under stout Sir Colin to save the bridge from the victorious mercenaries of Gwalior, while the rear stood savagely to bay against the clouds of sepoys who poured from the town to harass our retreat.

' At Allahabad, towards the end of March, the weather was—" Delightful. No news ; no one dead ; many married ; some about to be born ; some have been ; and some won't be, notwithstanding the welcome awaiting them."

' The welcome awaiting them ! On the 22nd May—

" We have plenty of cause for amusement here. The railway people insist on going the grand rounds. One cadet, doing duty with the sixth

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\* The Persian war was still in progress, and the prospect of a campaign would have even greater attractions than the retrospect of a consecration.

“Native Infantry, walked in the verandah last night for five hours, armed with sword and pistol, amidst the raillery of his wiser comrades.”

Two days after these words were written the Sixth Native Infantry rose, and massacred seventeen officers, including this poor boy and seven other young cadets, who were waiting to be attached to Regiments. From that time forward the Allahabad news becomes significant. On the 8th July the bodies of European men and women were floating down the river.

Late in March we find the following paragraphs:—

“We of this generation cannot realise what the effect of a real panic would be among the European residents in this country, and it would be foolish to attempt to realise it.”

Verily, as Mr Trevelyan says, there is an irony in history “surpassing in depth the irony of Sophocles.” If room was left among the deeper feelings which such recollections awaken, we would add here a word of commendation on the very skilful and artistic way in which Mr. Trevelyan handles this part of his work. There is of course nothing strange or singular in the fact that people were engaged in their ordinary occupations, and concerned with ordinary interests, when the mutiny broke out. But the overwhelming suddenness of the catastrophe is one of the main elements in the horror which it excites, and in an artistic point of view, this suddenness is greatly heightened by bringing into close contrast with the horrible scenes of the mutiny, the trivial matters of every day interest from which they stand forth with such ghastly prominence. This employment of strong contrasts in order to excite emotion has been spoken of by a contemporary journal as a trick of writing, and merely despicable. But it is the identical method by which De Quincey excites his reader’s emotion to an almost unbearable pitch of horror, in his most masterly description of the murders on Ratcliffe Highway, and an author who has yet his spurs to win, need not despise to enlist his reader’s sympathy by a method which forms such a main element in the power of this great master of modern English. There is of course the danger, if the contrast be trivial or feeble, of exciting not sympathy but ridicule, and then the fall is great in proportion to the height of the effect aimed at, but of such failure Mr. Trevelyan is in no danger. There are however few men who have the power to indulge in pathos without risk of missing the reader’s sympathy, and still fewer who, having the power, do not abuse it. The story of Arrah and the simple arrangement of the above extracts justify us in attributing to Mr. Trevelyan this power in a very high degree, and in believing that he is destined to take no mean place among the writers at least of his own day.

We would that we could part from him here, but it remains for us to notice his extracts showing the weak side of the English character which the mutinies brought out, and his indignant protest against the lasting deterioration which the indulgence of that weakness has caused in our views and manner of treating the natives. It would be vain to deny that against the mutineers themselves, still more against their inactive, if sympathising countrymen, and more than all against those officials in high places who courageously preferred to resist the universal cry for blood rather than, by encouraging an ignoble and insatiable revenge, tarnish their honour, and the honour of their country, entrusted to their keeping, the exasperation was such, that even those, who were not free from it at the time, look back now on the frenzied abuse and frantic howls of indignation with sadness and disgust. But for this very reason Mr. Trevelyan should have spared us the humiliation of showing us the picture of our past transgressions. To taunt a sane man with having once lost his reason, to expose before a hostile or unfriendly audience the sins of an honourable man's youth, to rake up all those things whereof he is now ashamed, were a friendly office compared to that which Mr. Trevelyan has done for us. It is true that the press in England was scarcely, if at all, less bitter than that out here; it is true that all ranks of society, military and mercantile, official and non-official, were penetrated with the same feeling, but all this, though it may excuse, does not justify the cruel cry for vengeance, and the bitter hatred with which all hearts were filled. As against the mutineers themselves, these feelings were natural,—human, albeit not Christian,—and though perhaps the exaggeration of them was such as in calmer hours men must look back to with regret, it is useless to expect that human nature in times such as those, in its seasons of madness, horror and fear, will not assert itself. As directed, however, against the natives generally, but more especially as directed against those whom the Billingsgate of the day delighted to call "White Pandies," the outcry was inexcusable, and had Mr. Trevelyan's researches led him to unearth the proposals for a Vigilance Committee, and for wresting the power of the State from the clement hands of Lord Canning, to place it in the more energetic grasp of a much-respected merchant of Calcutta, he would perhaps have found matter for sarcasm even more bitter than his denunciations. Admitting the truth of all he says, and feeling it more sadly, perhaps, for having at the time not been altogether above sharing in the general sentiment, we still assert, that it can do no good now to recall those feelings, and that it is especially useless and unfair, while reproduc-



ing the excesses of thought and language into which the whole community was betrayed, to omit to represent the atmosphere of daily and nightly horror in which they lived, and which could scarcely fail to bring about a state of excitement little short of madness.

The same spirit which makes Mr. Trevelyan dwell on this the saddest page of England's History in the East, a spirit of honourable indignation against cruelty and arrogance in all its forms, leads him to bring into undue prominence, what is true only exceptionally of the way in which natives are treated in the ordinary intercourse of life. He says:—

‘That intense Anglo-Saxon spirit of self-approbation, which, though dormant at home, is unpleasantly perceptible among vulgar Englishmen on the Continent, becomes rampant in India. It is painful, indeed, to observe the deep pride and insolence of race which is engrained in our nature, and which yields only to the highest degree of education and enlightenment. The lower in the scale of society, the more marked become the symptoms of that baneful sentiment. A native of rank, whom men like Sir John Lawrence or Sir Herbert Edwardes treat with the courtesy due to an equal, will be flouted and kicked about by any Planter's assistant or Sub-deputy Railway Contractor whose path he may chance to cross. On such a question as this, one fact is worth volumes of declamation; and facts of grave import may be gathered by the bushel by any one who spends three days in the country with his mouth shut, and his eyes wide open.’

He proceeds to illustrate his remark by a story of ‘a raw-boned brute of a Planter, riding among a crowd of natives at Sonepore, and flogging them away from the Course with his hunting-whip. Doubtless there is another side to the story; the Planter would say that he found the natives crowding round the Judge's stand, and as threats were unavailing, it became necessary to clear the Course forcibly. Any way it must have been a painful exhibition, but such exhibitions are certainly exceptional. To deduce a theory from a scene of that sort is as reasonable as to argue from one peeler using his truncheon unnecessarily in a mob, that the whole body of English Police are violent and brutal.

That, so far as his theory applies to the uneducated European it is correct, we do not wish to deny, and it was not without pleasure therefore that we read the denunciations against this insolence of strength, which Mr. Justice Peterson lately delivered from the Bench, in a case where a European had killed a native Policeman. He said, ‘it is a most cowardly act to strike a native; you have taken advantage to strike a person who you knew was vastly inferior to you in strength.....you went to the liquor-shop, and because you were at first refused change, you seized one of the men by the hair, and because the



‘ deceased Policeman thought it his duty to interfere, you, rejoicing  
‘ in your strength, and thinking that the life of a native is  
‘ nothing, assaulted and beat the man. *Revelling with arrogance*  
‘ *of race*, you took the life of that man.’ It is perhaps a ques-  
tionable commentary on the above, that the Jury having recom-  
mended the prisoner to mercy, he escaped with only five years’  
penal servitude. Such sentiments, however, delivered from the  
Bench, and received with gratitude and applause by all who  
read them, show that arrogance and brutality are not the *pre-*  
*vailing* characteristics of the race, that here, as elsewhere, is found

‘ The churl in spirit, up or down  
‘ Along the scale of ranks ;’

but that violence and cruelty are hateful and disgusting to the  
more thoughtful part of the community ; and it is only fair to  
say that, when cases of assault on Natives by Europeans do occur,  
they invariably draw down severe rebuke from the English news-  
papers, which constantly preach against the cowardice, no less  
than the rashness, of lifting a hand against a Native. We  
cannot but think that, from a longer residence among us, Mr.  
Trevelyan might have learned that the faults which he repro-  
bates, we reprobate also ; that they are mainly the faults of  
a small section of the community ; that they are counter-  
balanced, moreover, by virtues neither few nor light ; that both  
virtues and vices are the result of the circumstances in which  
we are placed, and indicate a nature neither much more  
refined, nor much more degraded than that of our country-  
men at home. As applicable to the character of the English  
in India, and especially to that character as developed by  
the mutinies, Mr. Trevelyan could have nowhere found a  
more perfect or more eloquent delineation than in Lord  
Macaulay’s description of the siege of Londonderry, and he might  
almost have applied to our vices as to our virtues, to our cruelty  
as to our steadfastness, to our courage as to our contemptuous-  
ness, the very words in which the great historian contrasts the  
dominant English with the subject Irishry of 1689, remembering  
only that we in India have shared in the general advance in  
justice, humanity, and refinement, which makes such a notable  
difference between the Englishman of to-day, and his ancestor  
of the time of James II. :—

‘ In all ages men situated as the Anglo-Saxons in Ireland were situated  
‘ have had peculiar vices and peculiar virtues—the virtues and vices of  
‘ masters as opposed to the virtues and vices of slaves. The member of a  
‘ dominant race is, in his dealings with the subject race, seldom indeed fraudu-

‘lent—for fraud is the resource of the weak—but imperious, insolent, and  
‘cruel. Towards his brethren, on the other hand, his conduct is generally  
‘just, kind, and even noble. His self-respect leads him to respect all who  
‘belong to his own order. His self-interest impels him to cultivate a good  
‘understanding with those whose prompt, strenuous, and courageous assistance  
‘may at any moment be necessary to preserve his property and life. It is a  
‘truth ever present to his mind that his own well-being depends on the ascend-  
‘ancy of the class to which he belongs. His very selfishness, therefore, is  
‘sublimed into public spirit, and this public spirit is stimulated to fierce enthu-  
‘siasm by sympathy, by the desire of applause, and by the dread of infamy.  
‘For the only public opinion which he values is the opinion of his fellows, and,  
‘in their opinion, devotion to the common cause is the most sacred of  
‘duties. The character thus formed has two aspects. Seen on one side  
‘it must be regarded by every well-constituted mind with disapprobation.  
‘Seen on the other, it irresistibly extorts applause. The Spartan, smiting  
‘and spurning the wretched Helot, moves our disgust. But the same  
‘Spartan calmly dressing his hair and uttering his concise jests on what he  
‘well knows to be his last day in the pass of Thermopylæ is not to be con-  
‘templated without admiration. To a superficial observer it may seem  
‘strange that so much evil and so much good should be found together.  
‘But in truth the good and the evil, which at first-sight appear almost in-  
‘compatible, are closely connected, and have a common origin. It was  
‘because the Spartan had been taught to revere himself as one of a race  
‘of sovereigns, and to look down on all that was not Spartan as of an in-  
‘ferior species, that he had no fellow-feeling for the miserable serfs who  
‘crouched before him, and that the thought of submitting to a foreign  
‘master, or of turning his back before the enemy never crossed his mind.’

It is in this complex aspect of our character that we think Mr. Trevelyan has, in his last letter, failed to do us justice ; but, on the other hand, we have much to thank him for, and, in closing our notice of his thoughtful, earnest, and very well written book, we may safely express a hope of meeting with him again ; and whether his next utterance be of the Platform or of the Press, he need not doubt that he will receive from his Indian friends a warm encouragement and hearty welcome.

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ART. VII.—1.—*Philosophus Autodidactus, sive Epistola Abi Jaafar, Ebn Tophail, de Hai Ebn Yokhdan. Ex Arabicâ in Linguam Latinam versa ab Edvardo Pocockio.* Ed. Secunda, Oxonii, A.D. 1700.

2.—*Specimen Historiæ Arabum, sive Gregorii Abûlfaragii Malatensis, de Origine et Moribus Arabum succincta narratio: opera et studio Ed. Pocockii; edidit Josephus White, S. T. P., Æd. Chr. Canonicus, Oxonii, 1806.*

3.—*Iacobi Bruckeri Historia Critica Philosophiæ.* Tom. iii. Lipsiæ. 1743.

4.—*The History of the Mahomedan Dynasties in Spain; by Ahmed Ibn Mahomed Al-Makkarî.* Translated by Pascual de Gayangos. London, 1840.

5.—*Averroes et l'Averroïsme. Essai Historique, par Ernest Renan.* Paris, 1852.

[THE *Calcutta Review* has lived a life of vicissitudes. It has been subject to more changes than is the common lot of things mortal. At one time able writers have vied with each other to fill its pages; at another time it has dragged on a weary existence that could hardly be called life. But throughout it has remained constant to one principle;—it has lived for the good of India. It has been devoted all but exclusively to the investigation of points relating to the history or social state of the East. We re-asserted that principle in the prospectus attached to the last number; and we are not now about to impugn it. But we claim the privilege of understanding it in a wide and comprehensive sense; we cannot afford to be pedantically exclusive. Nor, in admitting an article on Arab philosophy, even in Spain, are we by any means wandering further from the strict sense of the prescribed limits than earlier Editors have wandered. It is impossible to resist a smile when, on turning over early numbers of the *Review*, we observe the devices by which dissertations on subjects of general literature,—on the genius of Collins, or the versification of Shakespeare,—have been introduced under titles connecting them in some more or less remote way with our Eastern Empire. So far as this we would not go. The eager seizing of a mere accidental connection betrays a mind ill at ease with the restrictions which it has imposed upon itself. It is a sacrifice of spirit to form. An eminent native of Calcutta has recently died, and his death



has been felt as a personal loss by every Englishman from Fraser's River to Hobart Town, and not the least by his isolated fellow-countrymen in India, whose solitude has so often been cheered, whose perceptions have so often been stimulated, whose moral sense has been so quickened and strengthened, by that trenchant satire, by that wonderful pathos, by that superlative manliness and nobility of soul. Should we, or should we not, give the Indian public an estimate of the genius, or an account of the life, of Thackeray? No. When every month scatters the periodicals of England broadcast over the Indian soil, when every station book-club teems with the regretful criticisms of loving friends and coadjutors, who are we, that we should enter the lists against Dickens or Trollope or Henry Kingsley, or the best of all—the anonymous contributor to the *North British Review*? So we held our tongue, and spake not.

But a subject such as that of the present Essay is, like every thing that belongs to the history of the two great religions that have long divided India, a legitimate subject for an Indian periodical.\* The Queen has been somewhat absurdly represented as the greatest Mahomedan power. Certainly she has a vast number of Mussulman subjects, and no one interested in India can affect to ignore their existence or despise their power. Now if there is one fundamental conception about Mussulmans, if there is one point on which Europeans are all agreed, it is that the Mussulman as such is blind, bigoted, profoundly steeped in the consciousness of the superiority of his own religionists, and utterly averse to mental culture derived from sources beyond the pale of Islam. The present paper will tend to weaken these preconceptions. It will show us a time when the Mussulman kingdoms not only surpassed Christendom in science, learning, refinement, and toleration, but actually held a monopoly of these qualities; it will introduce us to a writer, whose works, devoted to the illustration of the greatest of the Greek philosophers, exercised an extraordinary and unique influence on European speculation throughout the Middle Ages. This was the one point of intellectual contact between Christianity and Islam, and as such is well worthy of attention and study to all who are interested in the history of either group of nations.

The author desires to disclaim any pretension to original research. He has derived his information mainly from the works named at the head of the Essay, and is not an Arabic scholar.] EDITOR.

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\* Not the least valuable of the contributions to literature which have appeared in our columns has been the series of articles by Mr. Muir, on the early Arabs and the life of Mahomet, which have since been expanded into an important book.

NATURALISTS say that some species are marked by persistency of character. Wherever you find them, they are the same. Others display an almost endless variety of differences; a change of habitat or soil induces a corresponding, or more than corresponding, change of appearance, so that you would never recognise the extremes to belong to the same type, did you not possess the opportunity of observing, in a finely graduated series of intermediate specimens, the transition from the one form to the other. So it is with races of men. Some types retain their identity through changing circumstances. Others vary so much that we should recognise no similarity, if history did not tell us the story of their common origin. But the variation can always be traced to external circumstances. National characteristics do not readily yield, except to change of scene. The Greeks in Greece are now much what they were in the time of Odysseus;<sup>1</sup> the same clever, impressionable, shifty, and not over-scrupulous race. Two and a half decades of centuries have not changed them. Slavonic immigration and Turkish domination have not affected them. The Arabia of to-day is very like the earliest Arabia of which we have record; the religion alone has changed, and even that change is not complete. Many portions of Arabia have only embraced the Mahomedan faith during the present century,<sup>2</sup> and the relics of older beliefs still linger among them, as the Kaaba of the primitive fœtish-worshippers lingers in the temple of Mecca. But if we turn to the Arabs in Spain, we find an extraordinary change worked upon these desert-wandering chiefs by the soft and fertile meadows and odorous orchards of Andalusia. Who would recognise the Beni-Koraysh, the kinsmen and enemies of the Prophet, the ferocious tribe who in the exultation of victory devoured the entrails of their enemies,<sup>3</sup> in the luxurious, peaceful, and industrious inhabitants of the banks of the Guadalquivir? How are these Mollahs learned in the law, these

<sup>1</sup> See an interesting article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of 15th March 1864, pp. 322—5; 'c'est toujours la même canaille qu'au temps de Thémistocle', was the remark of a Frank merchant at Athens to Lord Byron.

<sup>2</sup> Through the agency of the Wahabees. See Renan, *Études d'histoire religieuse*, p. 261. It is much to be regretted that our knowledge of modern Arabia, especially of the Eastern portions, is still so imperfect. Mahomedanism is still an aggressive force in Eastern Bengal, where the Ferazees may be considered as an offshoot of the Arabian Wahabees; and every reader of Captain Burton's books knows how rapidly it is spreading in Central Africa. We may here refer to a very able article in the 26th No. of the *National Review*, 'The Great Arabian,' by a brilliant writer, a former contributor to this Journal.

<sup>3</sup> Gibbon, ix. 297, (Milman's ed.); it is recorded of the wife of Abu Sophian.

poets stringing together rosaries of ingenious odes and metaphorical sonnets, these philosophers debating the difference between the active and passive intellect, and denying the immortality of the soul, legitimate descendants within four hundred years of the Prophet whose dogmas admitted of no doubt, whose revelations comprised the whole of that which can be known, and whose arguments were the two-edged sword of Ali and the battle-cry of Allah Akbar? So much influence has change of place in changing the character of a nation.

The Arab historians are never weary of comparing the several excellencies of the cities of Andalusia. A poetic rivalry existed between them; and the 'Book of the fountain of praise of 'Granada' would soon be followed by the 'Book of Gathered 'Pearls of the excellencies of Cordova,' or the 'Variegated silken 'robes of the beauties of Seville.' It is in the fertility of the towns, their fertility in fruits and crops, their fertility in wit and wisdom, that these writers delight, and there runs throughout a tacit comparison with the sterile plains and uncultured intellects of the fatherland. Granada, the City of Pomegranates,<sup>5</sup> the Damascus of the West, was surrounded by forty square miles of orchard and garden. The prospect of the snows of the Nevada cooled the air. The very ladies were remarkable for their attainments, and Granada can produce a long list of distinguished poetesses. Toledo was a city of ancient name, a capital of Goths and Romans. Some said that the great Alexander reigned there, and Suleyman, son of Daoud. Solomon's table, made of one solid emerald, was certainly found there.<sup>6</sup> Malaga was famous for its figs, which were sold in the markets of Bagdad and served on the tables of Mandarins, and its wine, for which, as one of the choicest of life's blessings, the dying Khalif praised his Maker. Almeria was the chief emporium of Moslem trade; <sup>7</sup> eight hundred looms plied there to make that costly silk which is woven with the name of the fortunate purchaser. The bazaars of Seville were so rich in commodities of every kind that men said, 'If thou seekest for bird's milk, by Allah thou shalt find it in Seville.' In oil and in oranges it especially excelled, and its thirteen kinds of musical instruments were exported to

<sup>5</sup> See Gayangos i. 308, and *passim*, for a surfeit of these titles.

<sup>6</sup> Hence its name according to El-Makkari (Gay. i. 53). But the pomegranate was not introduced into the West till A. H. 160, and the name is probably Phœnician.(i. 346.) The town was often called Sham or Damascus.

<sup>7</sup> By Tarik, the Lieutenant of Musa. It was presented by the latter to the Khalif Al Walid. (Gay. i. 47.)

<sup>8</sup> From the dockyards or *dar-san'ah* of Almeria, comes the word *arsenal*. The wearing of the *tiraz*, or cloth in which the wearer's name is woven, was a sign of royalty. (Gay. i. 356.)



all parts of the Moslem world. Saragossa was rich in salt, which gave the soil of the town a wonderful virtue; no snake or scorpion could enter its charmed precincts and live; wood never rotted, and wheat never mildewed. No air was like that of Valencia<sup>8</sup> in purity. No soil equalled that of Murcia in fertility. The confections of Xeres were the sweetest; the melons of Cintra were the largest; and on the coast of Lisbon was thrown up purer amber than ever came from Indian seas.

But the queen of cities was Cordova,<sup>9</sup> the capital of Andalusia. A Roman colony in a Celtic village, it became famous within two centuries of its foundation as a school of eloquence of a rich and peculiar character.<sup>10</sup> Seneca was born there; and Lucan, a Seneca who wrote in verse. When the Omniades, driven from the East, established a reign of scarcely diminished glory in Spain, they chose Cordova as their capital. It stretched for eight parasangs, (twenty-four miles) on both sides of the Guadalquivir. Water was brought from the hills in aqueducts, and conveyed to every house in the city by leaden pipes. There were many magnificent palaces and pleasure-houses; there was a noble mosque (the present cathedral) supported by 1,400 pillars,<sup>11</sup> and surmounted by a minaret only equalled in height by those of Seville and Morocco. The *maksurah* or screen was of the costliest workmanship in mosaic and gold; and in the *mihrab* or recess was a pulpit of inlaid woods, the most expensive procurable, where lay, among other precious relics, a copy of the Koran written by the sacred hand of the Khalif Othman. The royal country-house of Az-zahrá, of which not a vestige now

<sup>8</sup> But Valencia had a drawback with which we are very familiar, though we have no share in the compensating advantage. In the words of an Arab poet, 'the fleas danced there to the music of the mosquitoes.'

<sup>9</sup> Derived from *cor dubium*,—the doubting heart,—according to the Arabs—a name which might be thought to shew a prophetic insight into the character for scepticism the city was to bear throughout the Middle Ages. The derivation of Toledo from *tu læta* is about as valuable.

<sup>10</sup> See Martial, i. 62.

Duosque Senecas, unicumque Lucanum,  
Facunda loquitur Corduba.

And in ix. 62 it is called 'dives Corduba.' It had the official title of Patricia. Plin. iii. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Most of which are still standing. The description of the mosque is condensed from El-Makkari. It was built on the site of a Church, begun by 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and completed by Hákim and Hishám II, the workmen being Christian slaves, working in chains, a circumstance which tended to exalt the true religion, and trample down *polytheism*. See Fergusson, *Hand-Book of Architecture* i. 452—5, for a description and plan of the mosque, on which he traces the influence of Byzantine art.

remains,<sup>12</sup> was the most gorgeous dwelling in Spain. The fountains,<sup>13</sup> the mosaics, the solid gold, the translucent marbles, the sphere filled with quicksilver, which reflected the sun with a blinding brilliancy, and which, when suddenly set in motion, produced the effect of lightning, are wearying to read of, and recall the Palace of Art;—

“Who shall gaze upon  
My palace with unblinded eyes,  
While this great bow will waver in the sun,  
And that sweet incense rise?”  
For that sweet incense rose and never fail'd,  
And while day sunk or mounted higher,  
The light aerial gallery, golden-rail'd,  
Burnt like a fringe of fire.  
Likewise the deep-set windows, stain'd and trac'd,  
Would seem slow-flaming crimson fires,  
From shadow'd grotts of arches interlac'd  
And tipt with frost-like spires.’

Through these glories moved in constant stream thousands of soldiers, eunuchs, and Slavonian pages,<sup>14</sup> hurrying hither and thither on their various employments; while judges, theologians, and poets paced with grave steps to and fro, discussing solemn questions of the law or of

‘Fix'd fate, free-will, foreknowledge absolute,  
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.’

For Cordova revered a higher glory than mere material splendour; it was the most literary city of the West, nay of the world. While Northern pirates ravaged the shores of Europe, warped up the Trent and the Seine, and carried dismay and terror into the most ancient cities and the most fertile champagnes; while in England drunken and illiterate Saxons were contending with ferocious Norwegians; while in the German fatherland the altars of the woodland divinities still reeked with human blood; while in Frankreich and Lombardy, amid the *débris* of

<sup>12</sup> Murray's *Wanderings in the Cities and Wilds of Andalusia*, Fergusson i. 456-7.

<sup>13</sup> The fountains, contrary to Moslem usage, were covered with human figures in bas-relief. But they were brought from Constantinople by two mysterious personages—Ahmed the Greek, and Rabi the bishop, (Gayangos i. 236.) How came a Greek and a bishop to possess pure Arabic names?—In the 53rd chapter of Gibbon there are several indications of the connexion between Cordova and Constantinople.

<sup>14</sup> The Slavish pages alone consumed 13,000 lbs. of flesh daily, exclusive of fowls and partridges, while the fish in the tank required a daily allowance of 12,000 loaves. Arab authors are fond of figures, in more senses than one.

the old civilisation, in the utter ruin of arts and knowledge, the germs of the new order were slowly ripening under the fostering and harmonizing care of the Church; in Spain, and Spain alone, books were read and collected, poets were honoured, mathematicians calculated, and philosophers thought. The history of Gerbert<sup>15</sup> forms an instructive comment on the contrast between Moslem and Christian society in the tenth century. He had sat at the feet of the scholars of Cordova;<sup>16</sup> he was lost there amid the crowd, but one of all the thousands who carried on there the study of geometry, algebra, and metaphysics. Yet when he emerged into Christendom, he stood forth as the wisest man of his time. His learning was revered as divine by all who did not shudder at it as infernal. It conducted him to the Poppedom; yet men trembled when they told how immediately after his installation he was struck dead by the Evil One,<sup>17</sup> who, having accomplished his portion of the bargain, came to claim the soul which had been long before bartered to him for the fruits of the tree of knowledge. Such was the cost of a smattering of arithmetic and mechanics in that very Italy which had been adorned by Pythagoras and Archi-

<sup>15</sup> Milman, *Lat. Christ.* ii. 487—9. Gerbert was not in practice a dealer in any forbidden arts except ambition and intrigue. While a professor at Rheims and a French Archbishop, he was a strenuous asserter of Gallic liberties. As Pope he probably did not set such store by them. Gerbert is the central figure in Europe throughout this epoch.

<sup>16</sup> This part of Gerbert's history is very little known. He had the credit of introducing the Arabic numerals into Europe, and he made some sort of steam-engine. This and political animosities seem to have been the only grounds for accusing him of uncanny dealings. *Homagium Diabolo fecit et male finivit*, a chronicler tersely says.

<sup>17</sup> In a chapel called Jerusalem. It had been prophesied that he should die at Jerusalem. A similar *équivoque* occurs in our own history:—

In that Jerusalem shall Harry die.

He was in reality Pope for more than four years. Silvester II. was not the only one whom a knowledge of Arabic Science caused to be accused of necromancy; Frederick II. was believed to be a spiritualist; and when the tables were turned on him at the battle of Parma, a triumphant ballad-monger sang:—

Amisit astrologos et magos et vates,  
Belzebub et Ashtaroth, proprios Penates,  
Tenebrarum consulens per quos potestates,  
Spreverat Ecclesiam et mundi magnates.

Averroes also was said to have learnt from the devil,—although some doubted whether the devil could have taught him not to believe in the devil. A spirit who was interrogated by the father of Jerome Cardan stated that Averroes was much read and admired,—where *he* came from. See Bayle's article on Averroes, Note (F.)



medes, which was destined to be adorned yet more by Leonardo da Vinci,<sup>18</sup> Galileo, and Torricelli.

Of all the products of Cordova the most important was literature. If a philosopher died at Seville, they sent his books to Cordova for sale; if a musician died at Cordova, they sent his instruments to Seville. A man was valued more for his library than for his equipage, his title, or his rent-roll. Even the illiterate collected books, and felt proudly satisfied to be quoted in the coteries as possessing the tallest copy of one work, or the *editio princeps* of another. The poor student, who has hoarded his scanty means for the purchase of some coveted volume, is outbid by an exquisite in the dress of a nobleman.—‘May God exalt his worship the doctor!’—‘I am no doctor, and have not an idea what the book is about, but I am forming a library, to get the favour of the chiefs of this city. There is a vacant place to fill; the book is capitally bound; and, God be praised, my means are not scanty.’ The scholar slinks away, muttering ‘God gives nuts to him who has no teeth.’<sup>19</sup> The Khalif Al Hakim II. (A.D. 961—976), was the greatest patron of literature and science who ever sat upon a throne.<sup>20</sup> He gratified authors living in the most distant regions by unexpected presents. His book-collectors ransacked every stall, and attended every sale, from Fez to Samarcand. He got together the most elegant transcribers, the most skilful binders, the most superb illuminators. The catalogue of his library reached forty-four volumes, and contained the titles of 400,000 books; and, more wonderful still, he was said to have

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<sup>18</sup> For Leonardo’s acquirements see a note of Hallam (*Lit. Eur.* i. 49). He anticipated Galileo and Kepler in astronomy, taught the principle of virtual velocities and the laws of friction, and knew the camera obscura; he also (Lyell, *Principles*, 19) was one of the first who applied sound reasoning to the subject of the origin of fossil shells.

<sup>19</sup> This story was told of himself by Ibn Khaldun the historian, (*Gay.* i. 140); it will remind the reader of a similar anecdote about a picture-sale, quoted from an old play in our last number. Can Colman or Holcroft have read El-Makkari in the original Arabic?

<sup>20</sup> *Gayangos* i. 169, 171; Renan, *Averroes*, 2, 3. Hakem wrote in the flyleaf of every book in his library the name and history of the author. It took six months to remove his books from one place to another. He seems to have been a book-collector with a great love for literary gossip; but it is hard to believe that a king, even in those days, could be more than ordinarily well-informed. The royal goose is always a swan, or a Solomon. The library of Al-Hakem was destroyed, or dispersed, by Al-Mansur from motives of religious intolerance; see Ibn Said in (*Gayangos* i. App. xl.) Gibbon (x. 42) has some particulars about Eastern libraries.

perused them all. He was especially skilled in the royal sciences of history and genealogy; but he frowned upon no branch of study, and the professors of all were welcome at his court,<sup>21</sup> and proud to be seen there.

What were the prevalent studies in Moslem Spain? First of all, the reading of the Koran according to the seven schools; and the canon-law, according to the teaching of Malik-ibn-Ans<sup>22</sup> of Medina, the great rival of Hanifa; but the other sects were not discouraged. The degree of doctor in law (Faquih) was considered more honourable than any other; and honorary degrees were conferred on Sovereigns and eminent literati, as now at Oxford. Grammar<sup>23</sup> and rhetoric were also much studied, as is the manner among Easterns to this day; and the more because of the distance of these colonies from the well-head of the language. The mathematicians commented on Euclid and Hipparchus, taught algebra, and composed astronomical tables according to the rules laid down by the Indian School, called the method of Sind-Hind.<sup>24</sup> Physic was much cultivated and highly thought of, and many learned men turned their attention to botany.<sup>25</sup> The quickness of the Andalusian intellect was peculiarly favourable to the cultivation of poetry,

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<sup>21</sup> Among them were Ibnu-s-sid, a grammarian, who wrote a dialogue on Arabic philology;—a sort of Diversions of Purley, extending to 100 volumes! Patronage could not induce this incorruptible pedant to make a royal road to grammar.

<sup>22</sup> Of the four legal sects, that of Hanifa made frequent appeals to reason; Malik and Hanbal preferred authority and precedent; while the sect of Asshafi entirely repudiated reason. (Abulf. 27, see also Pocock, 288, and D'Herbelot, *s. v.* Malek.)

<sup>23</sup> The rules of language were carefully studied, and in writing were kept up with great exactness, but the Maghrebi speech was very corrupt, and it was only occasionally, in talking to strangers, that persons even of high rank kept to the rules of grammar. Education has never made a greater step than in giving up the learning by rote of the *trivium*,—grammar, rhetoric, and logic. These should be inhaled, like the oxygen of the atmosphere, not crammed. For all these subjects see the 3rd, 4th, and 5th chapters of the 2nd Book of El-Makkari.

<sup>24</sup> The first known Hindu astronomer, Parasara, is *proved* to have made observations in the year 1391 B. C., (*As. Res.* v. 288.); a much less generous computation than that of Bailly, who fixed B. C. 3102 as the commencement of the Kali-yug, and of authentic observations; he is combated by Bentley in *As. Res.*, and by a writer in the 2nd Number of the *Calcutta Review*. The Sind-Hind tables introduced under Al-Mansur, by a Hindoo (A. D. 773) appear to be what are known in India as the Brahma-siddhanta. (Colebrooke, *Dissertation*, p. lxxv.)

<sup>25</sup> Or the knowledge of simples. Scientific botany was never dreamt of before the days of Cesalpini and Tournefort.

of a refined, but for the most part highly artificial<sup>26</sup> character. Even women and infidels composed verses; and the children 'lisp'd in numbers, for the numbers came.' Jews<sup>27</sup> were among the chief writers, and one Christian bishop at least was skilled in all the intricacies of Arab versification.

In none of these branches was there any distinctively Spanish school. Indeed nothing is more striking than the unity of the body of knowledge throughout the Middle Ages. From the tenth to the twelfth century the mass of knowledge was confined to Mahomedan countries, and as the cultivated class in these countries was mainly of Arab extraction,—principally, indeed, consisting of a few Arab families of note<sup>28</sup>,—with a sprinkling of eminent Jews, with whom at this period the Moslem world maintained relations of equality and friendship,<sup>29</sup> it is quite explicable that their science and literature presented no marked national contrasts. Again, intercourse between Mussulman countries was continuous throughout the world; there was an exchange as well of literary as of material productions. Fez and Damascus, Cordova, Samarcand, and Bagdad were but parts of a homogeneous mass, and the same blood circulated through all. But if we widen our view in space to embrace Christian as well as Mahomedan countries, widen it in time so as to include the whole period from the decline of Greek literature and the later Platonic schools to the revival of Greek literature in the fifteenth century, from Porphyry to

<sup>26</sup> In anagrams, acrostics, and all the forms of false wit described in the *Spectator*, they excelled. A poet after their own heart would be he who wrote 300 lines to Charles the Bald, in which every word began with the letter C. The Tuppens of the day could spin you hundreds of lines, *stantes pede in uno*, without a *kaf* or a *nun*. The science of politeness or *adab* had a literature of its own.

<sup>27</sup> Ibn Sahl was the principal Jewish poet, but many maintained that he died a Moslem. In every country except England, the Jews have at one time or another formed a conspicuous element in the literary class. The number of Andalusian ladies who 'gathered the spears of preference in 'the hippodrome of literature' was very remarkable; and the seclusion of the sex must have been much relaxed in the west.

<sup>28</sup> Some of the *tâbis*, or followers of the companions of the Prophet found their way to Andalusia, (Gay. ii. 5.) The principal Arabs were of various families descended from the stock of 'Adnan, of which the Beni-Koraysh formed a part; but there were also a large number of the Kahttan (Arabs of Yemen), especially the Beni-Aus, and the Himyarites.

<sup>29</sup> Mussulmans never forget the help derived from the Jews of Medina,—'the people of the Book'. Not till the later history do we find persecutions. After the time of Maimonides, the synagogues in Christian Spain invoked the secular arm (of the Khalif) against their heterodox brethren of Andalusia, (Renan, *Aver.* 145).



Petrarch, we find a remarkable homogeneity of sentiment and style prevailing throughout. One important distinction there was, no doubt. Mussulman writers divide the sciences into those concerned with the roots of knowledge, and those concerned with the branches.<sup>30</sup> The exegetical sciences,—the canon law and dogmatic theology,—were of course pursued independently by Moslem, Christian, and Jew. The methods may have been parallel, but the Talmudist and the Hanifite had nothing to learn from one another, while the Christian schoolman would have deemed it impious to consult either. But the *radical* sciences, those that dealt with the foundations of knowledge,—ontology, psychology, and dialectics (to which we may add mathematics)—were pursued in common. Each recognized the same authorities, each drew from the common stock, the labours of each were rapidly known to all the others who cultivated the same field. Within the last three centuries, national characteristics have attained a distinctiveness that has never previously been seen. We have French schools, German schools, English schools, even Scotch<sup>31</sup> schools. But in the ages of which we speak, Jew and Moslem argued out the same ideas in the same manner; and the Greek who preceded them, and the Frank who followed them, differ only in the use of a different language, and neither in matter nor mode. Ibn Roshd might have incorporated whole pages of Themistius; Ibn Tofail is like Plotinus writing in Arabic. In astronomy alone, and the science of quantity, the Arabs did not recognize Greek masters,<sup>32</sup> but it was because they found in the Hindoos teachers far more advanced, and not because they had struck out an original line of discovery. Thought travelled fast and far in those 'ages of darkness;' and the perseverance of its votaries, aided perhaps by the paucity of material, produced a unison at which it is impossible not to wonder, and to which with all our advantages we have never yet attained.

<sup>30</sup> Abulfarag, *apud* Pocock, 17.

<sup>31</sup> Since the adherence of Professor Mansel to Sir W. Hamilton, there has been no distinctively Scotch school of philosophy, but the school which the two form would hardly be intelligible in Germany. Victor Cousin has done more than any one to fuse national distinctions in his branch of science, and in most others they are well-nigh obsolete. A Cambridge theologian can still be distinguished from an Oxford one.

<sup>32</sup> See Colebrooke's *Preliminary Dissertation*. The Hindu algebraists do not mount up so far back as the astronomers, the first whose date is fixed being contemporary with Diophantus, who is supposed to have lived about 360 A. D., and was commented on by Hypatia. (Colebr. xx.) Algebra was introduced to the Arabs under Al-Mamun; and Mohammed Ben Musa is their first original author.

In our enumeration of the studies pursued in Moorish Spain we reserved the subject of philosophy, as this requires some sketch of its previous development among the Mussulmans. As M. Renan has observed, there is, strictly speaking, no Arabic philosophy; there is a philosophy written in Arabic, but it was not a natural outgrowth of the race. The genius of the Semitic races is eminently unphilosophic. God did not create them apt for such studies.<sup>33</sup> How the Semitic mind, untouched by foreign influences, deals with questions that can be called philosophic may be seen in the book of Job.<sup>34</sup> That book contains no metaphysics, no psychology, no attempt at analysis of that which is, or of that which knows and feels. Its object is to trace in the broadest and clearest way the one problem which has always perplexed the Semitic mind, which has in a less degree perplexed our own minds;—how shall we reconcile God's absolute justice with the inequalities of fortune which we see in the world around us? Why do the good suffer and the wicked flourish? The book of Job does not answer this question. The 'riddle of the painful earth' is not solved, is felt to be insoluble. The problem is stated over and over in many ways. The terms of it are insisted upon with vehemence. God *is* just. That fact remains, and will brook no contradiction. And Job's punishment was not in retribution for Job's sin. Further no man can go. This book is a type of much Arabic speculation. Man's liberty, God's providence, man's suffering, God's rectitude, were the points on which they dwelt, and on which they spun, like Job's friends, endless cobwebs of speculation, to be only swept away by stronger re-assertions of the primal, seemingly contradictory, facts. The Mutazali sect maintained that every thing was the best for every individual man. 'Let me put a case;' said Al-Asshari to one of their teachers; 'There were three brothers, of whom

<sup>33</sup> 'Quod ad philosophiæ scientiam, nihil ejus admodum concesserat illis Deus, nec ad hæc studia idoneos fecerat.' Abulf. 7.

<sup>34</sup> Compare Renan's *Étude* prefixed to his translation of the Book of Job, also Maurice, *Moral and Metaph. Philosophy*, 123. The *contradiction* which runs through the book is well brought out by Maurice in his first *Theological Essay*; also by Renan, 'd'une part, la conscience affirmant 'le droit et le devoir comme des réalités supérieures; d'une autre, les faits de 'tous les jours infligeant à ces profondes aspirations d'inexplicables démentis, p. 52. The great work of the Semitic races was to teach the lesson of *monotheism*. (*Langues Sémitiques*,—'le mot, *déesse* serait en hébreu le 'plus horrible barbarisme.' 5. 6.) Compare *Études d'Histoire Religieuse*, p. 86.—We refer frequently to the works of M. Renan, as containing a mass of valuable truth, which ought not to be overlooked by the numerous class to whom his late historical romance on the life of our Lord is naturally offensive.—A short essay by Mr. Froude, *The Book of Job*, is well worth reading.

'the first lived a good life, the second a bad life, while the third 'died in infancy. What became of them in the next world?' 'The 'first went to Heaven, the second to Hell, and the third suffered 'annihilation.' 'But if the third were to say, "O Lord, it "would have been better for me to live, for I might have attained everlasting bliss?"' The theologian answered, 'The 'Lord would reply, "I foresaw that if thou hadst lived, thou "wouldst have sinned, and thy lot would have been eternal fire." 'Then the second brother, he who went to Gehenna, would ask "Why didst thou not let me also die in infancy?"' 'The answer 'would be "I wished to give thee a chance of salvation." 'And 'why was the third brother to have no such chance?' expostulated the pupil. 'Verily thou art possessed with a devil,' <sup>35</sup> was the teacher's reply, and the discussion ended very unprofitably for both, as such discussions will; nor have the Semitic nations yet expounded the problem for us.

But not only was the Arab intellect averse to philosophical studies, the personal influence of Mohammed and the precepts of his law discouraged them. The Prophet was, like many reformers, a man of intense but narrow perceptions, who saw not at all what he could not see clearly. This world and the next were all plain to him. His mind was harassed by no doubts. The warriors who followed him to the battle-field, the first generation of his successors, were less likely to tolerate inquiry. If science agreed with Scripture, it was unnecessary; if it differed from Scripture, it was false.<sup>36</sup> But from a very early period we find the germ of an opposition among the yet small Mussulman community. Thus there was a party consisting of the Prophet's immediate disciples and friends,—a purely Arab and national party,<sup>37</sup> and there was a provincial, a Syrian, a cosmopolitan party, who rose to power under the Omniades after the death of Ali, who besieged Mecca, murdered the faithful,<sup>38</sup> drank wine, tolerated the exercise of pagan rites, fixed the seat

<sup>35</sup> Pocock, *Specimen*, p. 232. The final answer of Al-Asshari, 'non 'sum ego a Dæmone afflatus, verum asinus stetit in fornice,' requires explanation, but the discussion produced a schism. The optimism which maintains that all is for the best, for each individual is not consistent with the notion of eternal punishment, and is rejected by the more logical school of Jonathan Edwards.

<sup>36</sup> This was Omar's answer to Amrou, who consulted him about the disposal of the library of Alexandria. The story is doubted by Gibbon on good grounds, but the sentiment is not improbable, nor peculiar to Mussulmans.

<sup>37</sup> Renan, *Études*, 265.

<sup>38</sup> See Memoir of Abdallah ben Zobair, by M. Quatremère, in *Nouveau Journ. Asiatique* for Aug. 1832, x. 144, sqq.



of sovereignty at Cufa, at Damascus, anywhere but in the spots hallowed by the origin of the faith. To their Court as a centre, the arts and sciences naturally rallied. The Syrians who surrounded the Ummeyyad Khalifs were more cultivated, more tolerant, than the Arab horsemen who claimed kinship with Mahomed. Christian lore, ancient Greek lore, were brought into contact with the centre of Mussulman domination. There *was* a human learning which could neither be despised as superfluous, nor scouted as false; and this learning, if it could not be made to support the law, must at least be reconciled with the law. Here we have the key to one large and important development of Mussulman thought. But it was not to stop here. The claims of human science, once admitted to recognition, vindicated for themselves the right to be studied for their own sake. And the position of the new seat of empire chosen by the Hashemite Khalifs was both favourable to the advancement of learning, and tended to give learning that peculiar impress which was derived from the operation of Sabeian and Magian, and even Indian speculations, upon the philosophy of the later Greek schools. We shall hereafter see what a disproportionate importance one or two *obiter dicta* of Aristotle, ascribing intelligence and perfection to the heavenly bodies, attained in the speculations of the Arab Peripatetics, and in this we cannot fail to trace the work of Sabeian influence.

But we have yet to sketch the course of the more strictly Arab and religious schools. The Peripatetics form a compact body, uniform in method and subject. But the religious philosophy of the Arabs was wonderful in its variety. From the second to the fifth centuries of the Hegiric era, it blossomed out into innumerable forms and sects. The Kadarites and Jabarites contended about the freedom of the will.<sup>39</sup> The Moattils<sup>40</sup> denied all positive attributes to God, and reduced His being to a pure abstraction. To Him no relations applied. He could not be a father; He could not be begotten. Man was not made in His image; He never took upon Himself the likeness of man. The Sifatites admitted attributes in Him; the Teshbi-

<sup>39</sup> An admirable sketch of the Mussulman sects will be found in Renan, (*Averroes* 76—81). The Kadar asserted free-will, and the Jabar necessity. (Abulf. 21, Pocock 233, *sqq.*) See also Brückner, iii. 51, *sqq.* The principal authority for the sects is Al-Sharestani.

<sup>40</sup> These were a branch of the Mutazali of whom below. (Pocock, 224.) A distinction was drawn between attributes of action (*Sifât-al-fil*) and essential attributes (*Sifât-al-zât*) and some of the Mutazali maintained that God knew, lived, acted, but 'per essentiam suam, non per scientiam,' &c.—a fine distinction. (Abulf. 19, and Pocock *l. c.*)

hites assimilated Him to man. The Hashawites, like the modern Mormons, went so far as to give the Deity a local habitation, a corporeal being, body, parts, and passions.<sup>41</sup> There was another class of speculations, more familiar to ourselves, about the source of human knowledge. The Somanites, like Condillac, resolved all knowledge into the evidence of the senses. The Talim-ites, like De Maistre, admitted an ever-present suprasensuous source of knowledge in an infallible Pope.<sup>42</sup> Free-thinking<sup>43</sup> revelled in all its forms; it formed unions, secret societies; it allied itself to licentiousness; it allied itself to magic and spiritualism; it allied itself to communism; it fluctuated, like the Templars of a later day, between a mystical pietism and a revolting impiety. A quieter and more rational form of free-thinking was maintained within the bosom of the Church by the Mutazali,<sup>44</sup> who held that revelation was a natural product of the human faculties, and that reason led man to religious truth. Rationalism however had its opponents, and the 'Aids to Faith' of the day

<sup>41</sup> The discussion frequently turned on those expressions of the Koran which describe God as sitting on a throne, &c. which some maintained must be understood literally, while Málík the jurist, and the majority of good Mussulmans, took the safer view that it was heresy to discuss such questions. Anthropomorphism never went further than in David Al-Jowari, who maintained that God had all the parts of men, with black and curly hair. (Poc. 229.)

<sup>42</sup> Or *imam* (Renan, 78.)

<sup>43</sup> All the sects of free-thinkers were named *Zendik*. (Brück. 138 *sqq.*) During the reaction under the Almohades to call a man *Zendik* was equivalent to burning his house down. (Gayang i. 141) The Fatimites of Cairo were accused of holding esoteric doctrines subversive of all religion, and certainly were in communion with Persian mystical and communistic sects. The Assassins (Hashish-eaters) at whom Asia and Europe trembled, sprang from the two. All the sciences were cultivated in their fortress of Alamut (see Michelet's *France* i. 165, Smith's translation.) The Templars cultivated relations with the Assassins, according to Von Hammer, and much of their symbolism shows an anti-Christian, if not Atheistical, origin. All the forms of *Zendikism* referred to in the text were repeated among the Albigeois of Provence, (see Michelet 212, 213) who mixed up the *quasi-Mussulman* teachings of Spain with the doctrines of the Paulicians or Manichees. (Gibbon, x. 178.)

<sup>44</sup> The Mutazelites are described by Renan as Protestants of the *nuance* of Schleiermacher. Their name, like that of the Pharisees, implies separatists. A full account of them will be found in Pocock, (216—221) and in Brückner (iii. 52.) One of them, Ahmed Ibn Haiat, held that Christ was the eternal word incarnate, and would judge men at the last day. He seems to have been an eclectic philosopher, who also held the transmigration of souls. Merdad denied the pre-existent eternity of the Koran—a bitter heresy. The *Ikhwán-oos-safa* or 'Brothers of Purity' at Bassora belonged to this school. They composed fifty epistles on as many branches of knowledge, with a compendium of the whole in the 51st. (Poc. 369.)

were furnished by the adherents of El-Kalam,<sup>45</sup> a school who defended revelation by logical methods, who opposed the idea of necessary causality and the indestructibility of matter, who insisted on God's direct action upon every atom of the universe.

Amid this ebullience of schools and sects, a few profound scholars, finding no satisfaction in Church disputes, and theories based upon the interpretation of the infallible Word, betook themselves to the study of an ancient writer, who seemed greater than the petty theorists of the day, for he loved Truth only, Truth for her own sake, and Truth seemed to have revealed herself to him, as she had never revealed herself to the theorists. He had lived and studied in a serener and a wiser age, before religious zeal was born; what wonder that sober minds clung to him, and almost worshipped him, as many such minds still worship him amid the excitements and the squabbles of modern Oxford? The lesson of toleration is not, however, learnt easily, and it was only step by step that infidel philosophy obtained a footing in the court of the Khalif and in the estimation of his subjects. As in the parallel history of our own connexion with the Mogul Court, it was by the physician's art<sup>46</sup> that the rulers of Bagdad were first convinced of the benefits of a more extended and deeper knowledge. Al-Mamun was the first who ventured to invite Christian scholars to his Court,<sup>47</sup> and, to the remonstrances of his father, he replied

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<sup>45</sup> There was a doubt as to the origin of the word Al-Kalam, derived (i.) from their reverence for the written *word*, (ii.) from their use of logic, in which Al-Kalam = Al-Mantik. (Brück. iii. 58.) They corresponded with the Hebrew *Medabberim*. Pocock calls them the schoolmen of the Mussulman world, p. 199; and they may be defined as those who employed dialectics in defence of Scripture. The puritan party looked with distrust on such weapons, even in such a cause. Gazali barely allows, and the sect of Al-Shafi condemns.

<sup>46</sup> Haroun sent for a Melchite patriarch of Alexandria to cure a girl of his zenana of whom he was passionately fond. He was himself treated for apoplexy by another Christian physician, (Brücker, iii. 27.) Gibbon surmises and Milman states as a fact, (*Lat. Christ.* vi. 441) that the Arabs of the Peninsula were from their free and natural lives almost free from disease. But this is much to underrate the *civilization* of the Peninsula. The prophet himself was epileptic.

<sup>47</sup> The principal was Johannes Mesuah, a Nestorian of Damascus (Brück. 27—33) whom Al-Mamun put at the head of a college of *savans* devoted to Greek, Persian, and Chaldee literature. Honain-ibn-Isaac, an Arab, translated Euclid and the *Almagest*, an abstract of Aristotle, and the medical works of Paulus Ægineta. But most of the translations were made by Syrian scholars. Indian mathematicians also came to Al-Mamun's court (Colebrooke, *ut supra*). Leo the philosopher was invited by him from Constantinople (Brück. iii. 539 quoting Zonaras.)



'You have long used the skill of Christian artificers, and it is as architects and not as professors that I wish to employ them.' How vast and elaborate was the fabric which they constructed we shall soon see. But under this *équivoque* there is no doubt that the inquiring prince concealed an ardent desire to penetrate to the basis of all the teaching which Persia, Greece, and India could afford. It was more by accident than in consequence of any peculiar sympathy on his part that the interpretation of Aristotle became the special medium for the development of Arab philosophy. Syrian students had long employed themselves in translating his works into their own language; under Al-Mamun these were retranslated into Arabic,<sup>48</sup> and the most accurate of the commentators seem to have contented themselves with the Syrian versions.

From the Neo-Platonists to Averroes there is an unbroken succession. The pupils of Plotinus,—Proclus, Themistius, Ammonius<sup>49</sup>—tended more and more to Aristotelianism. Then followed a group of commentators on Aristotle—Damascius, Simplicius,<sup>50</sup> and John Philoponus<sup>51</sup>—who called themselves Peripatetics and no longer Platonists; and the last leads naturally, through the Syrian translators, to the Arab commentators,—a vast and continuous series.

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<sup>48</sup> Aristotle appeared to the Khalif, who had previously never heard of him, in a dream. (Osaibia quoted by Brück. iii. 35.) It is now certain that Averroes could not read Greek, (Renan, *Aver.* 28) although D'Herbelot (*s. v.* Roschd) distinctly names him as the first translator of Aristotle into Arabic. The printed editions of Averroes are a Latin translation of a Hebrew translation of a commentary upon an Arab translation of a Syrian translation of the Greek text of Aristotle! and it is extraordinary that the text is not more disguised.

<sup>49</sup> This Ammonius, a pupil of Proclus and commentator on Aristotle and Plato, is not to be confounded with Ammonius Saccas the porter of Alexandria, a Christian by education, if not in life, and who was the founder of Neo-Platonism. (Smith's *Dictionary s. v.*)—Damascius was one of the Greek teachers who sought refuge in Persia, when the schools of Athens were closed by Justinian. See Gibbon, chap. xl. They were disappointed with Persia, but obtained the intercession of Khosrou and returned to Athens.

<sup>50</sup> Simplicius was a disciple of Damascius, and also one of the exiles. He laboured to bring Aristotle into unison with Plato. Gibbon (*l. c.*) had not read his commentaries, but speaks of his interpretation of Epictetus as 'a classic book, most excellently adapted to direct the will, to purify the heart, and confirm the understanding, by a just confidence in the nature both of God and man,'—more genuine praise than we frequently find in that quarter.

<sup>51</sup> Philoponus was much better known to Arab than to Christian scholars, though his works are extant. It was he who interceded with Amrou for the Alexandrian library, according to the fabulous story of Abulpharagius, (Pocock, *Specimen*, 170)

The first of these latter was Jacob surnamed Alkindi,<sup>52</sup> a distinguished inhabitant of Bassora, whose learning and clearness of thought were celebrated far into the Middle Ages. The latter quality he cultivated by mathematical studies, and his work on the necessity of mathematics as an introduction to philosophy would, if extant, have been one weapon more in the hands of the opponents of Sir William Hamilton. The most noticeable of the few records we have of his life represents him as having achieved the difficult feat of converting a theological opponent, who thundered at him furiously from the pulpit, into a partizan and a philosopher. It appears from the extant titles of his works that he held that view of the intellect, which, as we shall see, is the distinguishing doctrine of the Arab Peripatetics.

Every philosopher of this period professed the encyclopædia of human knowledge; but while Al-Kindi entered it from the side of mathematics, Al-Farabi<sup>53</sup> especially cultivated his mind by the close study of logic. He was a man of simple life and retired habits. The end of man, he taught, was to enter into union with the divine mind, the *active intellect*. Inspiration consisted in the completeness of this union. It was attainable here below, and there was no necessity to imagine a future state where human development might reach perfection. These are in brief the views of the whole school, which never receded from this stand-point.

The most central and typical figure however, in the oriental development of Arab philosophy, is found in Ibn-Sina of Bokhara, better known as Avicenna.<sup>54</sup> In the very periphery

<sup>52</sup> For Alkindi see Poc. *Specimen*, 350. Brück, iii. 63—69. He was called the 'philosopher,' and, as he was the first Mussulman author who did not base all knowledge on revelation, deserves that title. He asserted the physical doctrine of emanations, taught by Democritus, as an explanation of the phenomena of the senses, and was regarded by Selden as a student of 'natural magic.'

<sup>53</sup> Alfarabius 'prince of Mussulman philosophers,' (Poc 357) lived in the tenth century—(Brück. 71, 72, Renan, 71).

<sup>54</sup> A. H. 370—428;—he was called Al-Shaikh Al-Rais, the Prince. See Brücker 80—88, and Pocock's introd. to Ibn Tofail for all the information known about him. The story of his death given in the text, rests only on the authority of Leo Africanus, a gossiping Moor of the sixteenth century, who was driven from Spain by the Catholics, and resided in Africa; afterwards, taken by pirates, he found his way to Rome, where he was baptized by Leo X. He apostatized afterwards at Tunis,—*redibat ad vomitum*, as Brücker strongly puts it. The good, easy man, on whom all religions sat lightly, was not likely to have derived much good from the Christianity which Leo X. and the Roman Court at that time could teach him, unless, like Boccaccio's Jew, he was convinced that only the Divine power could keep such a monstrous mass of iniquity together.

of the Moslem world; far away from Court or Imam, surrounded by Turks or Spaniards, a school not strictly orthodox found freer scope than in the court of the most enlightened Khalifs. Avicenna was pre-eminently a physician, and as such is best known; his fame as a philosopher has been eclipsed by Averroes. Little is known of his life. It is said that he died in jail, being accused of complicity in a plot to poison the ruler. His complicity, however, extended no further than a refusal either to aid or to betray the conspiracy, as in either case he would have injured a benefactor, and exposed the country to civil discord. In his boyhood he was the hardest student known; but in maturer life he gave way to the habits of a voluptuary, and consumed the midnight oil, not in the student's solitary cell,<sup>55</sup> but among toppers and debauchees. Doubtless these were divine symposia, *noctes cœnæque Deûm*, where the brightness of his intellect<sup>56</sup> beamed forth amid chosen friends, untrammelled by the fear of orthodox frowns. For in his writings he maintained towards the Church a position of compromise and moderation, which has brought upon him the bitter reproaches of Averroes, who accused him of concealing his real opinions, to save his reputation for orthodoxy. He distinguishes between possible and necessary existences, and puts the universe in the category of the possible, thereby avoiding pantheism, and obtaining a basis for the theories of a divine and human personality, and of the separate existence of the soul after death.<sup>57</sup> In other respects his opinions were those of his school. We have seen that the atomic theory was adopted by the orthodox to explain God's immediate action upon matter. Ibn-Sina, on the contrary, with the Peripatetics, maintained that God operates through a hierarchy of forces, immediately upon a class of higher intelligences, which act in turn upon subordinate forces, and so on, till we reach brute matter.

<sup>55</sup> As a youth, he read all day and half the night; only leaving his books when a difficulty occurred, on which he resorted to the mosque to pray for clearness of mind. (Poc. 318.) By the age of eighteen he had exhausted the encyclopædia. For his later mode of life, see Renan, 135. Leo states that he killed himself through self-indulgence—very improbable in a philosopher of nearly sixty.

<sup>56</sup> Arab philosophy is, according to Picus of Mirandola, in Averroes firmum et inconcussum; in Alfarabio, grave et meditatum, in Avicennâ divinum atque Platonicum; (Renan, 314.) His principal work is Hikmat al-Sharkiyat, *Philosophia orientalis*.—Avicenna is best known as a physician; he introduced sugar, *cassia fistula*, tamarinds, and rhubarb into the *materia medica*; but as no great man is without his detractors, there were those who said that he was 'in medicinâ luscum; in philosophiâ cæcum.'—See Sale's life of him in the English edition of Bayle, Notes K. L.

<sup>57</sup> See Renan, 72-73, and Ibn Tofail (*Phil. Aut.*) p. 19.



Avicenna was opposed by Al-Gazali<sup>58</sup> of Tus, whom Renan calls the most original spirit of the Arab school. He scarcely, however, belonged to any school,—and his posthumous celebrity is owing not so much to the philosophy of his youth as to his opposition to philosophy in later days. When he came to Bagdad in the flush of his fame, invited to a professorship there, the whole city, with the prince and his court at their head, went out to meet him. His inaugural lecture was attended by a vast concourse; not only were all the nobility of Bagdad present, but smiths and carpenters left their shops, and carried their children to hear him. Trade was at a stand-still. The public-houses were empty. There was never such a triumph before nor since, save when Abailard lectured to twenty thousand people in the Rue des Fouarres<sup>59</sup> on the Doctrine of Universals. But, as in Abailard's case, the most sweet breath of popular applause did not satisfy; the shouts of thousands were a poor compensation for the loss of firm and clear belief. His mind entangled itself in perplexities and subtleties; scepticism did its work, and he doubted the reality of knowledge. No sound-minded man could continue to teach others, when the very fountain of belief was dried up in his own mind. He would try what travel could do,—change of scene, the abandonment of all the luxuries and conveniences of life. Like George Fox setting off into the forest with his suit of leather, he suddenly closed his lectures, sold off all his property, distributed the proceeds among the poor, put on the dress of a hermit, visited the shrine at Mecca, and wandered for some years in Syria and Egypt. Before his return, his views had changed. He left Bagdad a sceptic; he returned a mystic. He who had walked with the Peripatetics, now danced with the durweshes. The doctrines of Sufeyism, which glorified self through self-annihilation, which brought the mind into immediate contact with God, made it a part of God, so that, as Ibn Tofail remarks, the believer exclaims, 'How great am I! I am truth!' or 'what is under this garment 'is no less than God!' were admirably calculated for stilling the self-questionings of a mind which no system could satisfy. Reason

<sup>58</sup> The authorities we have used in the account of Gazali are *Phil. Autod.* 19—21, and Brücker iii. 93—95. See also a note of Cousin (*Histoire Générale de la Philosophie*, 203,) who refers to *Memoirs* by Pallia and Schmöldeker, and Renan, 73—75.

<sup>59</sup> Maurice (*Learning and Working*, 21) says it might be barely possible in the course of some days to explain to a cultivated English audience the general nature of the controversy between Abailard and William of Champeaux, which attracted such crowds. See *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*, iii. 135.

is a poor blind light, and leads us nowhither; without the inner illumination we are groping in the dark.—Gazali embodied the results of his mystical studies in a work called the ‘Destruction of Philosophy,’ the tone of which resembles that of certain well-known Bampton Lectures. Reason can only grasp the truths we feel and see. When it deals with the Infinite and the Absolute, God and Eternity, Freewill and Providence, it leads us into innumerable contradictions. Revelation is the sole source of knowledge about transcendental truth; only, while Mr. Mansel would confine Revelation within the four corners of a book, Gazali’s nobler view is that God reveals Himself to the spirit of every true and earnest enquirer. He lays himself open, however, like most of the adventurous spirits of those days, to the charge of not being at heart a believer. Ibn Tofail<sup>60</sup> collects many instances of the difference between Gazali’s esoteric opinions, and those which he communicated to the public; and quotes this bold defence of ‘honest doubt,’—‘If I have written ‘nothing but what may lead you to doubt concerning the doctrines in which you have been brought up, consider this as a ‘clear benefit; for assuredly he who has never doubted can ‘never judge, he who has never judged can never understand, ‘and he who does not understand, must live in darkness and ‘perplexity’;—a saying now and always worth remembering, and which would have entitled him to the gratitude of philosophers, if he had not left them as his legacy that violent attack upon all philosophical systems contained in the book *Al-Tahafat*.

Gazali’s attacks probably checked the current of philosophical study; at all events we find no more names of eminence in the Eastern world; and for the further and final development of the school, we must turn to Spain, where in the eleventh and twelfth centuries a constellation of distinguished men, a knot of personal friends, prosecuted these studies in unison, and threw upon them a lustre hitherto unsurpassed. Of these, the three Ibn Zohrs, Ibn Baja,<sup>61</sup> Ibn Tofail, and Ibn Roshd were the most remarkable; and the two last-named will claim our special attention.

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<sup>60</sup> Gazali maintained that there was an exoteric truth, which you communicated to the world, a mesoteric truth which you taught to your inquiring pupils, and an esoteric truth, which the wise philosopher kept to himself. (Ibn Tofail, *l. c.*) His inconsistencies might be explicable if we knew the chronological order of his books. Scepticism is formulated in his maxim, ‘Believe what you see, and not what you hear: when the sun ‘rises, what need is there of Saturn?’

<sup>61</sup> Better known as Avenpace; the author of the *Regimen Solitarii*. Of the Ibn Zohrs we shall say something hereafter. The history of the commencement of learning in Spain is very imperfect.

Ibn Tofail <sup>62</sup> was a native of Seville, of a noble but decayed family, who turned his attention to liberal studies as a means of recovering the fallen fortunes of his house. He was, we need not say, an eminent physician and astronomer, and was high in royal confidence. He may have been, like most of his fellow-authors, a voluminous writer, but his fame rests upon a single work,—a philosophical romance, called *Hai Ebn Yokhdan*,—written in a pleasing style, and with great clearness and singular conciseness of expression. Averroes esteemed it highly. Moses of Narbonne translated it into Hebrew; and it is probably the only philosophical work by an Arab author which has been widely read in modern Europe. Pocock published the original with a Latin translation, in the year 1671, at Oxford, under the title of *Philosophus Autodidactus*, and dedicated it to Abp. Sheldon. Leibnitz read it with great delight. It was translated into Dutch, German, and English, <sup>63</sup> and became an especial favourite with the Quakers. Of this work, as the tendencies of the Arab school are well and pointedly illustrated in it, and it is worth attention for its own sake, we purpose to give a short account.

*Hai Ebn Yokhdan*, the theological Crusoe, inhabited a desert island. How he came there, no one can with certainty say; but some maintain that he was the offspring of a princess who had been secretly married, and who placed him in an ark of bulrushes, and, entrusting him to the care of Providence, launched him upon the Ocean. Others assert that he was produced from the mud of the island by a process of spontaneous generation, <sup>64</sup> which our author carefully describes. However this may be, he woke to consciousness on the island of *Wakwak*, which was inhabited only by wild goats and other animals. One of the former took a fancy to the child, and fed and protected it. In the course of time the young philosopher acquires knowledge of external

<sup>62</sup> All that is known of his life may be found in Brücker, 95 97, and in Pocock's introduction to the *Philosophus Autodidactus*.

<sup>63</sup> By Ashwell, Rector of Hanwell, A. D. 1686. *Quackerorum cætui mire arridebat*, says Brücker. George Keith, the Quaker, also translated it; and Ockley, the author of the *History of the Saracens*, published an edition in 1711. We have only seen Pocock's edition. The idea of *Hai Ebn Yokhdan*, as well as the name, was imported from Avicenna.

<sup>64</sup> Avicenna defended the possibility of spontaneous generation even among the larger animals, 'as we see daily in smaller ones, as mice and 'frogs.' (Pocock's Preface.) The defenders of 'equivocal generation' soon gave up mice and frogs, but held to their fastnesses among the obscurer *invertebrata* long after Redi and Swammerdam had proclaimed 'omne animal ex ovo,' a dogma, the expression of which is modified by our knowledge of the lower forms of life. But the expansion of such knowledge has in some instances tended to a revivification of the old fallacy.



things, distinguishes one animal from another, learns, by comparing himself with them, the use of weapons, of clothes. On the death of his foster-mother the goat, he learns the great lesson of Death,<sup>65</sup> and that something dwells within the body during life of which that body is merely the vile and contemptible instrument. What is that something? A fire has been kindled among some dry wood; he has never seen anything so splendid, so powerful. The living animal is warm like the fire,—the dead one is cold; surely fire, or heat, is the principle of life and motion.<sup>66</sup> But in the origin he does not forget the practical conveniences of life. With his newly acquired knowledge of the properties of fire, and with the skins and horns of the wild beasts he has dissected in the search for the principle of life, he speedily surrounds himself with conveniences and comforts of every kind. He learns of the swallow how to build a house,<sup>67</sup> he bends the wild horse and onager to his will, and trains them to carry him; he throws himself into contact with Nature in all her forms. How infinite are these forms in number and variety! Where can I look for unity, lest I be lost in perplexity amidst this complicated infinity of things? Surely my own nature furnishes a clue to guide me out of the maze. Is this body of mine not multiplex, composed of a number of parts, each having its own function, each infinitely divisible? Yet I am certain that I am *one*; I feel, I know my own unity. That unity depends upon the spirit, the principle of life. When that falls away, I am no longer *one*, I am a mass of elements, soon to be undistinguishable from the elements around. Surely then, if there is a unity of the individual, in spite of the multiplicity of parts, we may conceive that there is a unity of the species, in spite of the multiplicity of individuals. The vital spirit in

<sup>65</sup> His meditations at this point lead him to perceive the advantage of sepulture. If a Hindoo or Parsee had been the author, they would have undoubtedly brought him to another conclusion. But this is always the result where we trace intuitive ideas by the light of acquired ones. The ideal of perfection to a black man is a black man,—to a tiger, a tiger.

<sup>66</sup> This, coupled with the converse generalization in the preface, 'nullam esse generandi caloris causam præter motum,' would be considered by those who delight to think that there is nothing new under the sun, an anticipation of one of the most striking results of modern scientific thought. But Mr. Lewes has shewn in his late study on Aristotle how little these happy guesses are really worth; and both Bacon and Locke expressed themselves still more definitely than our author (Tyndall's *Heat considered as a Mode of Motion*. 25).

<sup>67</sup> The knowledge of cooking followed his first acquaintance with fire; we are not told whether by a lucky accident, similar to that one in early Chinese history, recorded by Charles Lamb.

different individuals is like wine poured from the same bottle into different glasses. It is all one, and would flow together again, if impediments were removed. In the same way, variety of species is shown not to be inconsistent with unity of essence; by broader and yet broader generalizations, the differences between animals and plants, between living and inert matter, melt down in view of the substantial unity of all things.<sup>68</sup> The one element common to all things is the element of corporeity; and the essence of every particular object is resolvable into the element of corporeity<sup>69</sup> and some one or more added elements, which additions taken together constitute the *form* of the object, and it is from the form, not the matter, that the peculiar activity of each body emanates. For instance, water in the form of steam tends upwards; the same water in the form of ice tends downwards;<sup>70</sup> the one warms, the other cools. But what connection is there between the form and the act? The form is after all but a tendency to act, a condition of action. What is the *efficient cause*—the actual Doer of every action? The self-taught philosopher has thus arrived through the notion of causality at the notion of a first cause.<sup>71</sup> He experiences an ardent desire to know that First Cause. He looks around him

<sup>68</sup> The unity here spoken of is a purely physical unity. The species has an actual existence, not in conception but in fact, because every individual possesses a portion of a common soul-substance, (soul being clearly conceived of as material, a sort of fine vapour). This is entirely distinct from the discussion as to the reality of general conceptions, it is a discussion of the unity of things, not of the reality of abstractions, and finds a nearer antitype in the physical realism of the present day, the unity based upon common descent, as taught by Darwin.

<sup>69</sup> The element of corporeity is accompanied by another element, that of extension, which is inseparable from it, but not identical with it. This is also the view of Locke, book ii. chap. 13. We use the word *element*, not *notion*, for the reason stated in the previous note.

<sup>70</sup> Because it possesses in the one case the attribute of *gravity*, in the other that of *levity*; this is the phraseology of Aristotle, and generally of what Comte calls the metaphysical period.

<sup>71</sup> Modern opinion about causality represents it as (i.) a mere observed sequence without authority (Hume); (ii.) an observed sequence leading to an idea which pervades the human mind and which we rightly apply to things not observed (Locke, Reid, &c.); (iii.) an inseparable condition of thought (Kant); (iv.) a fundamental idea not derived from experience (Whewell; Cf. *History of Scientific Ideas*, l. iii. c. 2, 3.) It is not easy to see how the idea of causality leads to that of a First Cause, in any of these views; for if we necessarily think of everything as having a cause, we must think of the First Cause as having a cause, *quod erat absurdum*; the idea as an idea appears to be derived from the rencontre between the principle of causality and the principle of limitation. (Cf. Hamilton, *Discussions*, 586 sqq.) Our author's argument implies the recognition of sequence, without the recognition of adequate *force* in the antecedent to produce the consequent, which

on the earth; all things are subject to growth, creation, and decay. He looks up to Heaven; those shining orbs form with the earth but parts of one vast Kosmos,—vast, but not infinite. Thus was he led perforce to believe in a Creator,—invisible, immaterial, yet all-powerful, all-knowing, and full of every kind of perfection.

On the question of the eternity of matter, the philosopher was much exercised in mind.<sup>72</sup> He sees arguments against both views. Can we conceive a time when the world was not? Can we conceive a world as eternal as its Maker? Either God had need of the world, or He had not need of it. If he had no need of it, He created a superfluity; and if He had need of it, can we conceive God existing without that which was necessary to Him? In any case, does not the creation of an external world imply a change in the nature of the Creator? It was safer to believe that the world existed from all eternity with God, being yet logically subsequent, as coming into being through God's eternal will.

How does the soul come into communication with God? Spirit can only be known by spirit,<sup>73</sup> and we must possess an incorporeal essence capable of recognizing God, and not subject to the vicissitudes of our material frames. If the spirit has striven to see and know God throughout life, it will enjoy perpetual fruition of the Beatific Vision after death; if it has shut its eyes to the revelation of God, it will be deprived of that Vision, and suffer infinite longings and the torments of an unsatisfied mind, perhaps after much toil and pain to be blest at last with the sight of God,<sup>74</sup> perhaps never more. What then should be the great aim and end of life? What, but to devote all our faculties to the attainment of that glorious Vision of God, which is the source of all Life and Light and Happiness? So Hai Ebn

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therefore he ascribes to an unknown Power. But we are conscious of force in ourselves when we produce any effect, (Whew. i. 206) and therefore believe it inherent in the antecedent term of every observed sequence; which disposes of Hume. (Lewes, *Biographical Hist. Phil.* iv. 47—50.)

<sup>72</sup> As a good Mussulman he had to believe that the world was created, as a good Peripatetic that it was eternal; the solution seems suggested by the arguments of the Nicene Fathers concerning the eternal Sonship of Christ.

<sup>73</sup> *Tὰ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδεὶς ἔγνωκεν, εἰ μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ.*  
1 Cor. ii. 11.

<sup>74</sup> 'But to me, considering how great must be the condescension of Zeus in unveiling to any man, even the worthiest, the least portion of his own loveliness, there has come at times a sort of dream, that the divine splendour will at last pierce through and illumine all dark souls even in the house of Hades.' Kingsley, *Phaethon*, 60. The eternity of punishment is a distinctly Mussulman dogma,



Yokhdan set himself to study how the Vision could be attained. He was satisfied that inanimate things, that beasts possessed it not; but when he gazed on the heavenly spheres rolling in their orbits by fixed and regular motions in perfect circles,<sup>75</sup> and shining with a clear and spotless lustre, he could not think but that in bodies so beautiful and perfect, so little subject to corruption and decay, so far above man, must dwell a soul far more capable of perceiving the divine essence than the soul of puny men. That admitted, our life is three-fold; that which we have in common with the inferior creatures, body; that which we have in common with the planetary spheres, soul;<sup>76</sup> and beyond that, a spiritual essence in direct relation with the eternal essence, a faculty of apprehending the Absolute; and our duties divide themselves in the same three-fold way. As, to conserve the body, we regard the actions of animals, and do as they do; so to conserve and advance the soul, and lead it to the knowledge of God, we should regard the proceedings of the celestial bodies, and lay down rules of life accordingly. These must be imitated by perpetual benevolence, by spotless purity, by circular dances<sup>77</sup> carried to giddiness (a condition thought peculiarly suitable for the Vision,) and by continual thought on God. The transcendental faculty of apprehension of the Divine Essence, was to be cultivated by utter seclusion, by abstraction of the mind from all sensible things, from all intellectual conceptions, even from the idea of Personality, till nothing remains in it but the One, the True, the Perfect, Who converses with it in a language deeper than

<sup>75</sup> ἄλλας φορές οὐσας τὰς τῶν πλανήτων αἰδίου (αἰδίου γὰρ καὶ ἄστατον τὸ κύκλῳ σῶμα) Arist. *Metaph.* ii. (p. 1073 a. Bekker). The idea of the perfection and quasi-divinity of the heavenly bodies hinted at in this book of Aristotle, suited Oriental tastes, and formed a part of the religion of the Sabeans. 'Nach Sharastânî werden nicht die Planeten selbst, sondern die dieselben dirigirenden und ihnen innewohnenden Geister für Gottheiten angesehen, die sich zu den Sphären wie die Seele zum Körper verhalten' Chwolson, *die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, i. 734.

<sup>76</sup> This nearly answers to the Pauline division of body, soul, and spirit; only that in St. Paul the ψυχικὸς ἄνθρωπος is man viewed with regard to his animal nature (1 Cor. ii. 14 and xv. 44) which includes the understanding; (Coleridge, *Aids to Reflection*, 169 sqq, maintains that beasts partake of the understanding;) while the πνευματικὸς ἄνθρωπος is alone capable of the cognition of spiritual truth. The one division is physical, intellectual, and spiritual; the other is material, animal, and spiritual. Coleridge's 'Reason' combines the 'Spirit' of St. Paul, and the Intellectual Intuition of Schelling's school.

<sup>77</sup> This seems to have been the inner meaning both of the circuits of the Kaaba, which dated from pre-Mussulman times, and of modern Darwesh-dancing.

human speech ; Who shows it what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive.<sup>78</sup>

This supreme state of perfection, this Nirvana, wherein the soul, like a polished mirror, reflects only the light of that Divine Essence, that supramundane sphere of glory unspeakable, wherein the ideas of one and many, and all the categories of thought that enchain the mind of the 'blind bats of sense,' are merged in the contemplation of that which is beyond all categories, is analysed at some length by our author, who rises into a strain of sublime eloquence as he describes that eternal world, which the sensible world follows as its shadow, which knows no change, although all things change here below, although

The hills are shadows, and they flow  
From form to form, and nothing stands ;  
They melt like mists, the solid lands ;  
Like clouds they shape themselves and go.

But the perception of transcendental truth is not lasting. The philosopher is continually recalled to earth by the claims of this wretched body. From it he ceaselessly prays to be delivered. But he has not yet completed the cycle of his experiences. When fifty years of age, he falls in for the first time with human companionship. Asal and Salaman are two excellent persons—inhabitants of a neighbouring island. Of these Salaman is devoted to the welfare of society, while Asal seeks seclusion

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<sup>78</sup> The apprehension of the Infinite has been the dream of philosophers in all ages ; it is first fully developed in the 'Phædrus', but Plato does not maintain that we can attain to it in the present state, only that we have formerly attained to it, and the *ἀναμνήσις* feeds our minds with Truth till the revolution of things shall again give us an opportunity of seeing Truth. Plotinus first taught that the union was attainable in the present state, by *θεωρία*, contemplation, and attained it himself, according to Porphyry, before his death. Iamblichus sought it by magical rites. For the opinion of Avicenna, see the introduction to Ibn Tofail, p. 7. Averroes, as we shall show, held the same belief. Alfarabi, he says, when disappointed on his death-bed at never having obtained this *ittisāl* or union with the Supreme, declared it to be a fable. 'Sed non est ut dixit vir iste,' (Renan, 113.) See also Hamilton, *Discussions*, 20, on the Intuition of Schelling, who maintains that the intellect is capable of recognizing the Absolute, by an absolute act of cognition. All these views differ from Nirvana, in that they hold a temporary apprehension or union, while the Buddhist ideal is a complete absorption of the soul in God. The notion has a basis in that frequent experience of human nature called *ecstasy*, of which Tennyson—

My soul in his was wound, and whirl'd  
About empyreal heights of thought,  
And came on that which is, and caught  
The deep pulsations of the world.

for the development of the inner life. He leaves his country to live in solitude, and landing on what he imagines to be a desert island, is surprised by the apparition of Hai Ebn Yokhdan, who happens to have quitted his retreat in search of food. They meet, and after great efforts become capable of understanding each other; and when Hai has learnt to comprehend human speech, Asal, who represents Revelation,<sup>79</sup> informs the recluse what inspired prophets have delivered respecting God, a future state, and the means of grace. All this Hai finds fully to accord with his preconceived ideas. But what he hears of the condition of the world, and of the way in which men live, immersed in worldly affairs, and neglecting the training of the inner man, so works in his mind that he takes ship to the island of Asal and Salaman, and labours to lead men to a desire of the divine Light, to be sought in silence and solitude. He fails even with the worthy Salaman, and concludes that for the many, there can be no intuition of the Secret, that it is God's will that human society should go on, and that we had only to endeavour that it might go on according to the regulative laws of religion, while the deeper teachings of the contemplative life are reserved for the few. He retires with Asal to his island, and they finish their days in meditation and in silence. 'God pardon me,' the author concludes, 'for the errors of this book, and bring us all to the knowledge of Him; and the peace of God and His mercy be upon thee, my brother, who readest this book.'

It will be easily seen, even from this imperfect analysis of Ibn Tofail's treatise, how many important questions of philosophy it opens up. In the development of the self-taught philosopher, the Aristotelian ontology, the Intellectual Intuition of Plotinus, the union with the divine Love of the Sufis, are all combined into a singularly harmonious whole, while Revelation appears as a valuable but not necessary confirmation of truth which the healthy soul can attain under the immediate influences of God's Spirit. No wonder the work was a favourite among the Quakers. Except a few quotations from the Koran, it bears no marks of a Mussulman origin; and indeed it forms a protest against the exclusiveness of any creed. We have referred in the notes to the more suggestive points, and we now hasten to give an account of the life and opinions of the great contem-

<sup>79</sup> The appearance of Asal, who teaches pure Mahomedanism, 'de Paradiso et igne Gehennæ, et lancibus et viâ,' the mission of the Prophet, prayer, alms, fasting, and pilgrimage, may have been introduced to render the treatise more palatable. It is clear that Hai did not *need* revelation.



porary and friend of Ibn Tofail, known to the Christian world as Averroes.

All that we know of Averroes may be stated in short compass. He was not a man of such special note among his contemporaries that trustworthy biographical details should have been handed down to us. His fame was reserved for other regions and other ages. We know more of him than we know of Shakespeare, and that is all. Centuries elapsed before his Christian admirers and opponents had agreed on the spelling of his name. Averrhoes, Ibn Rushid, Aben Rust, Avenryz, Ben Royst<sup>80</sup> are only a few of the tortures it underwent at their hands; and M. Renan, who is very keen at a scent of his hero, finds him condemned by a statute of the University of Paris in 1215, together with certain pantheistical teachers of that University, under the name of Maurice of Spain. While the very name was uncertain, and while its mention roused passions so violent, it is no wonder that wild and improbable stories naturally attached themselves to his memory, and it is not to Christian writers that we can look for trustworthy information.

Abul-walid Mahomed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mahomed Ibn Roshd was born at Cordova about 1120 A.D., in a family of distinction, with a sort of hereditary right to magisterial offices. His grandfather was Chief Justice of Cordova, and his collected decisions are extant. He was esteemed so highly that the people after a rebellion selected him to convey their submission to the Khalif, who received him with much respect. The grandfather was long better known among his countrymen than the grandson who was distinguished as El-Hayid—'Junior.' The family belonged, like most of the Spanish doctors, to the legal school of Malik, the great luminary of Medina; and Ibn Roshd sat at the feet of the best masters, and mixed from his youth in the choicest literary society of the time,—a society, as we have observed, which was then in all the arts and accomplishments of life, as well as in actual knowledge, superior to all that the world could show. His preceptor in philosophy was Ibn Tofail, and in medicine<sup>81</sup> Abu Merwan Ibn Zohr, commonly

<sup>80</sup> Renan, 7*n.*, 176. The authorities for the life of Averroes are Ibn-Abi-Okaibiah, in his *History of Physicians*; a MS. article by Abu Abdallah Mohammed, in a dictionary of persons bearing the name of Mohammed, in the Imperial Library; and Leo Africanus, who is not trustworthy, (see Note 54.)

<sup>81</sup> As we shall not have occasion to refer to Ibn Roshd as a physician, we may observe that he attained as great eminence in that department of knowledge as in philosophy, and that his work *Kalliyât*, a general course of medicine, was well known in the middle ages as *Colliget*.

known as Avenzoar, the elder of that name. All these eminent persons were highly distinguished by the Khalifs, Abd-el-Mumen and his successor Yusuf, who, though belonging to a dynasty which had obtained power by putting itself at the head of an orthodox reaction, displayed literary tastes, founded colleges, and prohibited the destruction of books. Ibn Roshd used to tell the story of his first introduction to Yusuf, who held his Court at Morocco. Ibn Tofail conducted him into the Amir's presence, and prefaced the conversation by a long narrative of the nobility of Ibn Roshd's family, containing much that was as new to the *protégé* as it could have been to the patron. The Amir then turned to the young philosopher, 'And what,' said he, 'is the opinion of men of science regarding the sky? is it an eternal substance, or a temporary phenomenon?' The ingenuous youth, who had doubtless more to say than any man living on the subject, blushed and hesitated; he was not used to converse with Kings, and Ibn Tofail was forced to take up the subject for him, quoting Aristotle and Plato, Mussulman doctors and Greek philosophers, with an accuracy of memory which struck Ibn Roshd with astonishment. At last the King succeeded in rousing his visitor from his bashfulness, and elicited an expression of his opinion on the subject; and finally made him happy by the present of a sum of money, a valuable scarf or *khilut*, and a riding-horse.<sup>82</sup> It is said to have been at the suggestion of this sovereign that Ibn Roshd commenced his commentaries on Aristotle, which, amid all his acquirements and avocations, formed the main work of his life. In the same reign he obtained, by popular suffrage, towards the year 1169, the post of Judge of Seville. Two years afterwards he returned to Cordova, but for many years was unable to study as he wished, being called now to Cordova, now to Seville, now elsewhere, on public duty, while sadly longing all the time for his books and the ease of his own study. In 1179 he completes a theological treatise at Seville; two years afterwards he is made King's Physician; and soon after sits on his grandfather's seat as Chief Justice of Cordova. These degenerate days afford no parallel to such a variety of distinctions, and we can best conceive it by supposing Chancellor Bacon to have been also a Bishop, and to have written 'Hamlet' while in hot pursuit of the Spanish Armada. With the next King, Almansur, he is a greater favourite than ever; he shares the king's own cushion, calls

<sup>82</sup> Renan, 13. Yusuf knew his duty as a King better than our George III., who, not content with asking questions, sometimes ventured on literary criticism.

him brother, and accompanies him to battle against Alphonso of Castile. He is made Grand Justiciary of Morocco, with all the judicial offices in his gift; and after going on circuit, and setting the department in order,<sup>83</sup> returns to his much-loved Cordova;—a man as high in royal favour and popular estimation as man could be. But here, according to those views of life which have found favour with Arab historians as well as with Grecian tragedians, a reverse was impending; no man could be so fortunate and so great all his life through. Ibn Roshd excited the anger of his sovereign, and was banished to a small town called Lucena, inhabited principally by Jews. Many suggestions have been offered as to the cause of his disgrace; some suspect family motives, others assert that he shewed a want of respect towards the Amir in one of his works,<sup>84</sup> others again relate a narrative which, whether true or not in its details, seems to touch the root of the matter, to connect his fall with one of those spasmodic 'revivals' which indicated a great conservative reaction such as at this period was spreading throughout the Mussulman world. A notion had spread among the lower orders that the human race was about to be destroyed by a hurricane. A commission was issued to enquire into the origin of the report, and Ibn Roshd was examined as a witness. He protested himself incredulous, and, being asked whether he did not believe that the tribe of Ad was exterminated by a similar convulsion of nature, his reply was expressed in terms so disrespectful to the legend, and to the Koran, which contains it, that his heterodoxy was at once established. However his liberalism first became the subject of public animadversion, it had long excited the opposition of theologians. He quoted heathen philosophers; he set them above the Fathers of the Church. He doubted the inspiration of Scripture; he doubted eternal punishment,—was not clear about the separate existence of the soul in a future state. When all this was brought to the notice

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<sup>83</sup> Brucker iii. 99, from Leo Africanus.

<sup>84</sup> In speaking of the giraffe, he observed that he had seen one in the Court of the King of the Berbers. The title gave offence, and on being remonstrated with, he explained it as a clerical error for *Malik-al-barein*—the King of the two realms. Okaibiah, in *Gayang*. App. xx.—The Andalusians appear to have held the Berbers in disrepute; a poet says, 'I saw Adam in a dream, and I said "O father, men generally agree that the Berbers "are descended from thee."—"Yes, it is true, but Eve was at that time "divorced from me."—Bayle says that a plot was laid to circumvent Averroes by inducing him at a lecture to deliver his secret views. When the proofs were laid before the King, he said 'it is evident that this man is 'no Mussulman,' and ordered him to stand bareheaded at the door of the mosque, while all that passed spat in his face. (Note M.)



of the king, he feared he had gone too far in his encouragement of liberal learning. He issued an edict prohibiting dangerous sciences, and a commission for searching out and burning heterodox books. Medicine, arithmetic, and so much of elementary astronomy as would suffice to determine the direction of the Kibla (as we should say, to find Easter) were alone exempted from the general condemnation. The edict exists to this day, and its preamble declares that all rationalists were expressly created to feed the fires of Hell. It is, however, to the credit of Almansur and his subjects that no attempt was made to anticipate those fires. Spain enjoyed more liberty of conscience under the most intolerant of her Moslem kings than she has enjoyed under the most liberal of her Christian kings. The commission was headed by Abu Bekr Ibn Zohr, who was instructed to search for and destroy all works on logic (*ilm-al-mantik*) and philosophy; which was much as if Dr. Rowland Williams were commissioned to put down the Broad Church, or Professor Jowett to destroy all traces of the study of Greek. He did his work, however, well and thoroughly; sparing only, if report be true, his own library; and the King treated severely those of the orthodox party who ventured to insinuate, what must have been well known, that his minister was himself addicted to the forbidden studies.<sup>85</sup>

Ibn Roshd's disgrace was shared by many other philosophers, poets, and physicians. But it does not seem to have lasted long. The tyranny of priests was less endurable than the tyranny of professors. The party of progress returned to power, the edicts were revoked, the philosopher and his fellow-exiles were recalled, and all was as if it had not been. Of all the misfortunes that had befallen him, the one which he felt the most was, he used to say, not that the king or his court withdrew their countenance from him, but that on his entering the Mosque at Cordova, he was driven out with insult by the crowd, and not permitted to worship God among his fellows. He did not long survive his restoration to favour; he died at Morocco in 1198, aged nearly seventy-nine, and his body was carried to Cordova to be interred in the grave of his ancestors. He left several

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<sup>85</sup> Ibn Zohr was very canny, according to Okaibiah (Gay. I. App. xi.) He found two of his medical pupils reading a book on logic, snatched it from them, and rushed into the streets to inflict corporal chastisement. The two 'cut coach' for some time, but at length sneaked back, made some silly excuse, and were permitted to carry on their studies; but each occasion of their coming was 'improved' by Ibn Zohr, with reading the Koran and catechising. When he thought that they were quite *safe*, he took the very book which had so displeased him, and proceeded to read it with them.

sons, most of them in the judicial service, and one with some name as a physician, and it is said, though not on good authority<sup>86</sup> that two of them found their way to the Court of Frederic II. With Ibn Roshd disappeared almost simultaneously the whole constellation of philosophers, among whom he had lived and studied, and no new star rose upon the Mussulman horizon. The few remaining men of letters nourished themselves on the fragments of the Past.

Thus then terminated for the followers of the Prophet the era of intellectual freedom.<sup>87</sup> Not only in Spain, but throughout the Mussulman world at the end of the twelfth century the reaction against free-thinking once for all prevailed. The professorial chairs were monopolized by the Church party, and never ceased to thunder forth their condemnation of Aristotle and the philosophers. At Bagdad the Khalif publicly burnt the works of Avicenna, and of the Ikhwan-oos-Safa. Beyond the burning of books they seldom proceeded, but this was carried out with great gusto and solemnity. The doubtful sciences were prohibited or discouraged, and the Arabic nation from that day to this, has displayed no intellectual originality, has developed no new line of thought.

All that we hear from contemporary writers about the character of Ibn Roshd is to his credit. He was patient, magnanimous, generous,<sup>88</sup> especially to men of letters. The middle-age writers, who could not conceive two chiefs of schools not violently hostile to each other, gloated over his cruelty to Avicenna, who, some said, was broken on the wheel<sup>89</sup> by his rival. Unfortunately the physician of Bokhara died a century and a half too early for the truth of this pleasing story, which literally has no other foundation than a few severe criticisms on the philosophy of Ibn Sina. The attainments of Ibn Roshd were remarkable, but not of a type differing from those of the

<sup>86</sup> Ægidius of Rome declared that he had seen them there (Renan, 202.) He may have believed it, but the statement was introduced to give point to a theological argument. Leo Africanus has a silly story about Averroes cursing one of his sons, (Bruck. 99.)

<sup>87</sup> Renan, 24—31. Fakreddin Al-Razi hired a ship to visit Averroes, but was deterred by rumours of his heterodoxy, or rather of his disgrace, for Fakreddin himself wrote a poem on the eternity of matter and the annihilation of the individual, which, when found, so excited the people that they rifled his grave, and violated his ashes,—very needlessly, as didactic poems are generally quite harmless,—no one reads them.

<sup>88</sup> Brückner, 102. It is added that he was very fat, though he eat but once a day.

<sup>89</sup> Others said that Averroes himself was driven over in the street; the notion of a wheel seems to have attached in some way to his memory.

ordinary Mussulman philosopher of his age. He was something of a poet,<sup>90</sup> but very little of a critic. He does not seem to have known Greek, and he read Aristotle in Arabic or Syriac versions.<sup>91</sup> He was acquainted with the works of Alexander, Themistius, and other commentators, for whom he shows little respect. His veneration was reserved for the Master, whom he calls a divine man. Aristotle is the founder of Science, his mission is to show what the human mind can do; he is pointed at by the finger of inspiration; we may differ about his meaning, but from him we cannot differ; Nature and Aristotle, (as Pope says of Nature and Homer) are the same. Sometimes perhaps this veneration is a little exaggerated, in order to cover by the protection of Aristotle opinions unusual, unpopular, or unsafe, as when a philosopher now living puts his most *bizarre* remarks into the mouth of an imaginary Smelfungus or Teufelsdröckh, or (which is nearer the point) an unorthodox theologian fights from behind the shield of Bunsen.

His principal work is the Great Commentary, which gives the whole text of Aristotle, with a gloss upon every phrase. There is also a lesser commentary, and an analysis in which he speaks in his own name throughout; and these also embraced every work of that voluminous writer. But Ibn Roshd's literary labours are not ended here.<sup>92</sup> His chief original work is the *Tahafat-el-Tahafat*, a vindication of philosophy against the *Tahafat* ('destruction') of Al-Gazali; and his treatises, extant or lost, on philosophy, medicine, jurisprudence, and grammar, are very numerous. The laboriousness of mediæval writers is

<sup>90</sup> He burnt all his verses when he grew old (Bayle, Note P.) His criticism on the *Poetics* is said to be very weak. He compares tragedy and comedy to panegyric and satire, while elegy is merely an incitement to sensuality. (Renan, 36.)

<sup>91</sup> But by collation of a large number of translations, the errors of individuals were eliminated, and there remained only such errors as were inseparable from the operation of translation from Greek into Syriac;—*instrumental errors*, an astronomer would call them.

<sup>92</sup> Renan names twenty-nine philosophical treatises, including a commentary on Plato's Republic; five theological, nine legal, three astronomical, two grammatical, and seventeen medical treatises (48-49.) Of these many are lost; the Escorial is rich in Arabic MSS. of the medical works, and contains some of the philosophical. A few are found in the Laurentian library at Florence, and in the Bodleian. Hebrew translations are very abundant, both in MS. and in print; and from 1472 to 1574, numerous Latin editions appeared, especially at Padua and Venice. 'A la fin du XVIe. siècle' says Renan, 'les éditions deviennent de plus en plus rares, seuls, quelques traités médicaux s'obstinent encore à tenter la publicité. Au XVIIe. ces innombrables volumes s'ensevelissent pour toujours dans la poussière et l'oubli.'



far beyond what we can conceive. Augustine, Albert, Aquinas, Suarez have each left a mass of writing, composed in the midst of a life more or less active, which, if we take into consideration its conciseness, as well as its amount, exceeds the labours of twenty of our most active *literati*. The world is too much with us, and *society*, an abstraction unknown in the middle ages, demands more time, is a greater hindrance to literary labour, than those public duties and occupations from which mediæval writers were not more free than those of the present day. These writers were not monks in quiet cells, more than Mr. Grote or Sir Cornwall Lewis; they were rulers of men, advisers of princes, eminent jurists, daily lecturers to thousands, bishops administering and protecting temporalities. The serious part of life pressed as heavily upon them as it does upon Mr. Gladstone or M. Guizot; only they were spared the frivolous part of life—the fuss and stir and bustle—which not only occupy time, but tell upon the nerves and the brain much more than *work*, strictly so called, can do.

The two great and distinctive doctrines of the Arab School of philosophers are the eternity of matter, and the theory of the intellect. They were more impressed with the idea of the universe as a whole than with that of the individual soul. Matter was eternal and subject to eternal laws, according to which it developed itself into all the forms we see around us; intelligence was not an individual possession, but a participation in the Universal Soul, from which the soul of man has been detached, and into which it will be re-absorbed. Both these doctrines were built upon an Aristotelian basis, and of both Averroes was the principal teacher.

His views with regard to creation and development were such as the science of the present day will not deride. They are a natural outcrop from the scientific aspect of the universe. Perpetual change, evolving itself according to fixed laws, and in continuous sequence of generation and development; such change not a new creation, but a transformation of pre-existent matter by the agency of force; the sum of the universe never varying, but the mutual relations of its component parts varying continually,—all these ideas are perfectly familiar to us; and their result, the exclusion of special Providence, free-will, and chance, from a share in the regulation of the Universe, is not unacceptable to a large modern school. God was, in the opinion of Ibn Roshd, by no means what we have seen Him to be with Ibn Tofail, the effective cause of all things—so that it is not fire that burns, and water that wets, but God that does

all.<sup>93</sup> If, he says, God creates, God also destroys; and we thus charge the Perfect Being with corruption, annihilation, death, and evil; whereas in the view that He governs the universe by unchangeable laws, evil is not ascribed to Him, but to the inherent imperfection of matter. It is not clear what, in the opinion of Ibn Roshd, the matter which he holds to be eternal actually is. It has no positive attributes. It cannot be named or defined. It is an infinite possibility of being; an undetermined tendency to exist<sup>94</sup>; and, after all, said his opponents, wherein lies the difference between that and non-existence? But we must not blame a transcendental thinker for a natural obscurity of expression, in describing that which words were not made to describe. That which has no modes, no attributes, about which nothing can be predicated, which *is*, but is not anything, and which will become everything, can be described as an infinite possibility, without the conception of its existence in some sense being wholly lost. We should call it an undetermined *force*. At all events that conception is the basis of all the philosophy of Ibn Roshd.

All Eastern philosophy without exception insists on intermediate intellectual agencies between God and man; the Demiurgus of the Platonist, and the Æons of the Valentinian, will illustrate sufficiently the means adopted to fill this seeming void. How could God, who dwelt by Himself in inaccessible splendour, make Himself known to mortal minds? God's creative, or *motive* attribute, was personified accordingly as a Demiurgus, a Prime Mover,<sup>95</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Hai Ibn Yokdhan, 96. He justifies his opinion by passages in the Koran, as 'ego sum auditus ejus per quem audit, et visus per quem videt.'

<sup>94</sup> Renan, 35 *sqq.* The language is much that of Heraclitus, who, as is well known, maintained all things to be in a perpetual flux. 'All is,' says he, 'and is not; for though it comes into being, it forthwith ceases to be.' 'The world was made neither by God nor man; it was, and is, and ever shall be,—a self-existent fire.' Hegel declares it to be the fundamental principle of logic that 'das Seyn ist das Nichts.' We have never read Hegel, and therefore accept the interpretation of his epitomists—that existence *per se* is distinguishable from the flux of phenomena. (Lewes i. 111). The eternity of matter is laid down clearly by Aristotle, 1071 Bek. In modern science the conception of Boscovich would seem to be not unlike that of our author.

<sup>95</sup> A subject like this is too vast to be discussed in a note. But see Jowett, *Thessalonians, Romans, Galatians*, i 473—478, for a clear exposition of the views of Philo, who is a key to the rest of this philosophy. Philo connected his *δυνάμεις* at once with the *ideas* of Plato and the angels of the Old Testament. The *λόγος* of Philo is the same as the *σοφία* of the book of Wisdom; and was often connected with the *νοῦς*, which according to Anaxagoras, was the creator of the world.—The maxim of Occam—'Entia non sunt multiplicanda sine necessitate'—was little understood in those days. The theory of Ibn Roshd is nearer the Sabeian than the Valentinian dynamics.

a λόγος προφορικός, 'through whom also He made the worlds'; the divine Wisdom of the later Jews; νοῦς, the firstborn of every creature; and this doctrine, which is not to be found in Aristotle, could not be dispensed with by his Arab commentator. But one Being was not enough to fill the void; the Eastern saw in the planets and stars what he could not but deem intelligences of a higher order than his own. They moved neither upwards nor downwards, while all sublunary things possess the attributes of gravity or levity; their motion was circular, the motion of perfection. They were mighty and animated Beings with an intellect always in act,—links in the celestial Hierarchy which stretches between God and man. This belief, familiar to every Eastern through Sabeian and Chaldean sources, found confirmation enough for our philosopher in a passage of the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle,<sup>90</sup> sufficiently isolated and alien, it is true, from the general tone of his thoughts, but perhaps the one passage which has had most influence on his oriental admirers.

We now come to the doctrine of the intellect. It is by no means an easy task to make the theory of Ibn Roshd explicable, and writers on metaphysics, especially if aiming at conciseness, but too often give the impression of not having sufficiently mastered the subject for themselves, to impart it clearly to others. If the theory is derived from several sources, is open to contradictory interpretations, and perhaps never existed in the shape of a clear and overmastering conception in any human mind, the difficulty of explaining it is increased. Did Averroes conceive that all mankind had but one mind, shared in one common soul? or did he merely hold the universality of the intellect in a quasi-metaphorical sense, meaning that all men share in the result of the thought of each one, that the sum total of human intellects is the common property of mankind? It is easier to trace the source of the idea than to ascertain precisely how far he carried it.

I think; and, whenever I think, it is according to the same laws. I never conceive that two and two make five, that the part is greater than the whole, that John and Thomas are one man. Two and two are four for me not once only, but for ever. Clearly the operations of my mind are subject to certain definite

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<sup>90</sup> Bekker, 1073-1074. He makes the stars eternal essences, but does not distinctly ascribe to them intelligence; and speaking of the opinion of the ancients ὅτι θεοὺς ᾤοντο τὰς πρώτας οὐσίας εἶναι he says θελῶς ἀνείρησθαι νομίσκειν, —a scanty foundation for such a superstructure.



laws; I am obliged to think always in the same form or mould. When I compare my thoughts with those of others, I find that they also think in the same form; the same laws of thought rule the minds of all. Unity, multiplicity, personality, causation, sequence—in short all the forms in which we think are common to us all. Thought is no random indeterminate product of the mind, no mere result of individuality; it contains within it an element common to the whole race. At the same time there is in every thought an element of spontaneousness, of individuality. Other men do not think at the same time as I do, nor think of the same thing. The matter of my thoughts is of my own choice. There is then an individual element, and there is a common element in thought; and we settle the whole subject to our own satisfaction by talking of the unity of man's mental constitution. But Aristotle was not content with a phrase; unity meant for him something real, something more than a high degree of similarity, as it does in common parlance. He chose to discriminate the two elements by calling them two intellects.<sup>97</sup> So far as a man's thoughts were determined by his individuality, they were the thoughts of his private intellect; so far as they were common, he shared them with the common intellect of the race. The one was a passive, a material intellect, born with a man, and dying with him; the other was the active or formal intellect, in which all share, which survives the individual and cannot perish. It does not appear that Aristotle gives this active intellect an objective existence, and it may have been with him little more than a formula for the common regulative ideas of the mind, the expression for which he occasionally borrowed from the terminology of Anaxagoras.

But there were those who rushed in where Aristotle feared to tread. Above all things, let us have our system complete. If there is an external mind, which is the co-efficient of thought with the individual mind, let us know all about it, tell us what and where it is. And commentator after commentator sought an answer to these questions, gave to every expression of the master an objective value which would have astonished him, plunged with bolder and bolder steps into the darkness.

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<sup>97</sup> The classical passage is *De Animâ*, iii. 5. (p. 430 Bekker), οὗτος ὁ νοῦς χωριστὸς καὶ ἀπάθης καὶ ἀμνηστὴς τῇ οὐσίᾳ ὣν ἐνεργεία. . . . καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἀθάνατον καὶ αἰδίον. In the previous chapter, he quotes this as the view of Anaxagoras; but his expressions elsewhere are quite inconsistent with the view of a separate intellect.

With Alexander of Aphrodisias,<sup>98</sup> the individual intellect was a mere waxen table, and the active intellect which used the individual mind as its instrument was God Himself. That which each man's mind had in common with other men's minds was its share in the thought of God. God immediately assisted in every act of thought. This earlier Malebranche had but few supporters; his view seemed derogatory to the supremacy, the absoluteness of God, and most of those who personified the active intellect, chose to identify it with the Logos, the Agent of the Supreme, by whom He created the world. Certainly these speculations never attracted Averroes; the active intellect is not with him a *person*, whatever it may be. He insists upon its existence; he expounds and expands the words of Aristotle; he recurs with the greatest interest to the dogma; yet it is impossible ever to be sure in what precise sense he understands it. Some of his expressions point clearly to the middle-age notion of monopsychism,<sup>99</sup>—that all mankind had but one soul. At other times again he gives colour to the conclusion which Renan<sup>100</sup> has arrived at after careful study, that when Averroes speaks of an active intellect, single and separate from man and eternal, he means no more than the universality of the principles of pure reason and the unity of the constitution of the mind in the whole human species. The intellect is immortal, because the human race is immortal, because civilization will never be extinct, because progress can never cease, because the truth conquered by age after age is added to the common stock and will never be lost. It is a grand conception, but one peculiarly of the nineteenth century, and which M. Renan's own habits of

<sup>98</sup> Renan, 99. He lived at the commencement of the third century, and taught that God and the universe stood in the relation of form and matter. An answer to this doctrine was given by Sirmondus in the sixteenth century. Either God's acts of intelligence are within or without Himself. If without, we have an intellectual action taking place outside the intellect that acts it; if within, the intellect of God must contain errors. (Bayle).

<sup>99</sup> Held especially in Ireland, and by a Scotch monk of Corby, called Macarius. (Renan, 102.) According to Pomponatius, the Averroist of the sixteenth century, the celestial spheres have each particular intelligences, and the lower orb has one also, which is the soul of the human species. (Bayle, *Averroes*, E.) The common-sense but unphilosophical answer of the middle ages was that it was impossible that Judas the traitor, and Peter the Apostle, should have the same soul. Augustine has a treatise *de quantitate Animæ*.

<sup>100</sup> Renan, 106 *sqq.* Averroes held the axiom—'*ex necessitate est ut sit aliquis philosophus in specie humanâ*,' which certainly appears to agree with the theory that his active intellect was the collective intellect of humanity.

thought predispose him to find in his author. It is easier to believe that Averroes was an inexact, as he was certainly not a lucid, thinker; that, his theory having led him to the belief in an external and eternal intellect, he never formed to himself a precise notion how that intellect existed; and that he hovered in thought, as he hovers in expression, between the grosser notion of an actual self-existent external mind, and the more refined idealism of a belief in the unity of the race.

Besides the active and passive intellects, we find a *material intellect*, not easily distinguishable from the passive intellect; and an *acquired intellect*, which is the universal or active intellect so far as appropriated by the individual. Nothing could well be more awkward and misleading than this phraseology, appropriated as it is by different authors for the expression of quite different ideas. The acquired intellect is usually among Arab writers, a step to that *ittisál*, or identification with the divine soul, which was taught by the Sufis, and upon which we have seen the mystic mind of Ibn Tofail dwell with delight. Ibn Roshd was the least mystical of mystics. He had no conception of spinning round on his own axis into a knowledge of the Divinity; he dreamt not that union with God was to be attained by seclusion from the sight of man, and by continual contemplation of the pit of his own stomach in some half-lighted cave. Science alone can emancipate, the truth alone makes men free, brings them near to God; the attainment of knowledge is the great aim of life. Prudence and temperance are necessary conditions of the search, but even they do not ensure the attainment. Many a man has searched and found not; and happy is he to whom a glimpse of the Divine knowledge is vouchsafed, even at the hour of death.

And after death—? There appears to be little doubt that Ibn Roshd repudiated a personal immortality. He would accept no popular myths, promulgated as he said by the founders of religions, with good but mistaken motives. Plato pandered to a vitiated taste.<sup>101</sup> It was not the fear of hell which made men virtuous. We need not shudder at

‘the gulfs beneath,  
The howlings from forgotten fields;’

nor need we look for happiness beyond the grave. That beatific moment in which a man attained once and for ever the knowledge of God was reward sufficient for life-long, self-denial, and holiness. To sink into nonentity without having enjoyed

<sup>101</sup> Especially in the fable of Er the Armenian, in the tenth book of the Republic.



that vision was punishment beyond all that man could conceive of torment. And as for the instinct of immortality, was it not enough that man had the privilege of continuing his species? let him live on in his sons and grandsons; let him exult in the great advancing tide of human thought, of which his life has formed one little wavelet. Averroes never set himself against religion;<sup>102</sup> he asserted the ultimate coincidence of religion, when truly interpreted, with philosophy; but he had little in common with what we call religion, except the belief in God, and the love of truth, of justice, and of purity.

It now remains for us to conclude an Essay already too long by a sketch, which must be necessarily brief, of the posthumous history of the doctrine and fame of Averroes. He was, as we have said, the last great Arab philosopher, but the torch which had been handed by Greeks to Syrians, and by Syrians to Arabs, was not yet to drop. It was taken up in their turn by Jews; and Moses Maimonides<sup>103</sup> was universally recognized as the successor of Averroes. The doctrine of the two philosophers was indistinguishable. Jewish learning was however to yield to a temporary obscuration. It was collected in a single province, and the orthodox communities scattered among neighbouring nations succeeded in silencing the profession of philosophy. But the great Mussulman reaction checked the petty Jewish one. Dispersed over Northern Spain and Southern France, the adherents of

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<sup>102</sup> But he speaks of the three forms of religion with indifference, and something like contempt. The mediæval writers said, we know not on what authority, that he used to assert that there were three religions; one of them *impossible* (Christianity), the second a religion for children, (Judaism) and the third a religion for pigs (Mahometanism); see Bayle, Note H. The Christian religion was impossible, because 'they eat what they adored.' This saying was much fought over at the Reformation, and produced by Duplessis Mornay and others as the testimony of an infidel against Romish error. Cicero said the same thing in his *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 16, 'Ecquem tam amentem esse putas, qui illud quo vescatur Deum credat esse?' to which the Catholics answer that Christ crucified is to the Greeks foolishness. Cicero, poor fellow, knew no better, but Averroes is inevitably damned. After all, we can fairly forgive a philosopher of the twelfth century, who seeing in the religion of that day neither moral worth nor mental power, should exclaim, in imitation of Balaam 'Let me die the death of the philosopher, and let my last end be like his.'

<sup>103</sup> For Maimonides, see Renan, 140—142, and a note in Cousin, *Histoire Générale de la Philosophie*, p. 206—209. He simplifies the idea of God till he reduces it to a pure abstraction; and his followers, like a similar Arab sect, were termed *Moattils*, i. e., those who deprived God of His attributes, as a woman is robbed of her jewels. Maimonides was forced by persecution to leave Spain and abjure Judaism, but closed his life in communion with his brethren, and in great honour, at the Court of Saladin.

learning succeeded in establishing a majority in the synagogues, and obtained permission to prosecute their studies in peace, and comment at their leisure on the works of Aristotle and his successor. They held master and scholar in equal honour; and were the means of introducing the latter to the knowledge of Europe. More Hebrew translations than Arabic texts of his works exist in libraries. It was not till the end of the sixteenth century that this intellectual community ceased to exercise itself on the study of Averroes, and his influence may probably be traced, even later, in the works of Spinoza.<sup>104</sup>

At a very early period we find persons employed in Southern France and Naples in translating Averroes into Latin.<sup>105</sup> But Michael Scott<sup>106</sup> of Balwearie was the first scholar who can be shown to have studied them. He visited Toledo, and carried the writings of Averroes to the Court of the Hohenstaufen. The pantheism of David of Dinant and others at the commencement of the thirteenth century was in later days ascribed to the influence of Averroes, but this would involve a more rapid communication of the results of study than we have reason to believe possible. In Hales and Grostete, however, his influence is distinctly perceptible. William of Auvergne was the first to proclaim the deadly war which so many generations of schoolmen waged against the Arab philosopher, who takes his place in the works of Albertus Magnus as an avowed opponent of Christianity. Albertus supplies a curious instance of the scholastic method of arguing. He states with much fairness thirty arguments in favour of the Unity of the Intellect; he caps them with thirty-six arguments on the opposite side, and orthodoxy triumphs by a majority of six! Aquinas, whose whole mind was moulded by antagonism to Averroes, reserves the force of his logic for this same doctrine. But the philosopher is not yet held up to public scorn; and he

<sup>104</sup> Cousin traces the influence of Maimonides on Spinoza; (p. 412—416) but his argument seems to resolve itself into an *à priori* notion that Spinoza would naturally have read and profited by the works of his co-religionist.

<sup>105</sup> They were for the most part ignorant of both tongues; one Hermann the German was an indefatigable translator, and Renan gives a specimen of his style:—‘Inuarikin terra alkanarnihy, stedi ei et baraki et castrum munitum destendedyn descenderunt adenkirati ubi descendit super eos aqua Euphratis veniens de Euetir.’ (p. 170.)

<sup>106</sup> See Notes to 2nd Canto of *Lay of Last Minstrel*. It was at Toledo that Michael learnt

The words that clove Eildon hills in three,  
And bridled the Tweed with a curb of stone;

but he never wrought a more potent spell than when he launched the work of Averroes on the sea of European thought and dogmatism.

appears in the *Inferno* among those who only wanted baptism to make them good Christians.

Orpheus I mark'd,  
And Linus, Tully and moral Seneca,  
Euclid and Ptolemy, Hippocrates,  
Galenus, Avicen, and him who made  
That commentary vast, Averroes.<sup>107</sup>

At the commencement of the fourteenth century our attention is attracted by Raymond Lully; <sup>108</sup>—a man with a mission, the Hermit Peter of an intellectual crusade. He learnt Arabic and invented a new notation in logic, expressly to confound the Mahometans. The twelve principles of Philosophy are the interlocutors in one of his books. One after another they slay the already slain, and make short work of Averroes, who is now and for two centuries the great opponent of the Gospel; the 'cursed Averroes,' 'the dog that ceaseth not to bark at Christ and his Church.'

All these attacks presuppose an Averroistic school, and this is to be found among the Franciscans, the least orthodox and least submissive sons of the Church, some of whom certainly contemplated the supersession of Christianity by the new and mystic religion of the Holy Ghost, while even those who did not give way to these wild dreams handled sacred subjects much more freely than their opponents. The doctrine of the separate intellect was taught by Roger Bacon, who asserts it to be traditional at Oxford. In Paris, not only the separate intellect but the eternity of the world and the mortality of the individual soul, were asserted and denied with great vehemence. Stephen Tempier Bishop of Paris solemnly condemned these dogmas in 1277,<sup>109</sup> together with others which display a boldness of scepticism which we are accustomed to regard as incompatible with the ages of faith. The clerical declarations and episcopal censures of the present day are elicited by opinions far less revolutionary than those which in the thirteenth century

<sup>107</sup> Canto ii. of the *Inferno*. In Chaucer we find him in the same company. Of the Doctour of Phisik he says

Wel knew he the olde Esculapius,  
And Deiscorides, and eeke Rufus;  
Old Ypocras, Haly, and Galien;  
Serapyon, Razis, and Avyeen;  
Averrois, Damescen, and Constantyn;  
Bernard, and Gatysden, and Gilbertyn.

<sup>108</sup> The best accessible account of Lully is in Maurice (*Moral and Mental Philosophy*, iii. 239—251.)

<sup>109</sup> Renan, 212 sqq. whom we have briefly epitomized in the above two paragraphs.



agitated 'contentious Paris and the noisy Street of Straws'—that Christianity was full of fables, that religion was useless, that philosophy is the end of life. Of all these sweeping dogmas Averroes was rightly or wrongly considered the peculiar patron.

Many causes conspired to create the reaction against dogma which we now find cropping up on all sides,<sup>110</sup> but they may be reduced mainly to three,—(i.) a growing rebellion of the laity against clerical power and influence, manifested especially in the University of Paris, where the doctors of the Sorbonne were ever in arms against the Faculty of Arts; (ii.) the doctrine of personal illumination encouraged by the Franciscans, and pushed to the most daring heights by the mystical sects which arose in the bosom of that order—the Fraticelli, the followers of Dolcino, and the preachers of the 'Everlasting Gospel,'—who were for ever barked at by the faithful 'dogs of the Lord' (*Domini canes*); and (iii.) the influence of Arab culture radiating from the East and from Spain. The first Crusaders saw in their foes only frightful idolators, worshipping Mahomed, Apollo, and Termagaunt with hideous rites. Long intercourse showed in these redoubtable paynim a degree of culture and refinement which astonished the Christians. Salah-ood-Deen proved himself a chivalrous gentleman and a true knight. The Templars were penetrated deeply with the spirit of Islam. But it was in the Court of the Hohenstaufen that Moslem sympathies most prevailed. Frederick II.<sup>111</sup> kept a bevy of learned Arabs about him, and imitated as far as he dared Eastern life and manners. The idea of a comparison of religions which a century before would have been scouted as blasphemous, now occurred to men's minds. Averroes had compared somewhere the 'professors of the three laws which now prevail,' (the religions of Moses, Christ, and Mahomet) in a manner which indicated great indifference to the special claims of either. The expression was seized by the free-thinkers of the fourteenth century, and Averroes became the patron of the idea of comparative religion, which speedily expands into the myth of the book

<sup>110</sup> See Farrar's *Bampton Lectures* (1862) pp. 105—127, for a brief but very fair sketch of the tendencies towards free thought in the thirteenth century. Michelet supplies much information, but, as usual, exaggerates for the sake of antithesis.

<sup>111</sup> Frederick on his visit to the East astonished the Mussulmans by his indifference to his own religion without edifying the Christians. 'Happy 'Saladin,' he used to exclaim 'that knows no Pope.' It is said that our King John made overtures for assistance to the Khalif of Cordova, and promised to turn Moslem if his wishes were acceded to (Michelet i. 237, quoting Matthew of Paris.)

of the *Three Impostors*,<sup>112</sup> —a book which mortal man has never seen, which, in all probability never existed, but in which many centuries devoutly believed, and which was successively ascribed to Averroes, Frederick II. Boccaccio, Aretin, Machiavel, Pomponatius, Servetus, Giordano Bruno, Spinoza, and Hobbes. To the intense hate which this belief engendered must be ascribed the appearance of Averroes, in Orcagna's Last Judgment, in the deepest depths of Hell, with Antichrist and Mahomet; and in Taddeo Gaddi's 'Triumph of Saint Thomas,' crouched under the feet of the great Angelical Doctor, the Master of the Dominicans.

Yet at this very time the followers of Averroes wax bold and numerous. The Carmelite Baconthorp and Walter Burleigh comment upon him in England; and the medical and anticlerical school at Padua<sup>113</sup> put him forth as an authority superior even to that of Aristotle. The school is not an interesting one; it is a remnant of scholasticism lingering on beyond its time. Far into the seventeenth century,<sup>114</sup> while men were rejoicing all around in new light, while the recovery of ancient letters, the extension of geographical discovery, the birth of positive science, the protest against clerical tyranny, had renewed the youth of the world; these Paduan professors wrangled on, using the brains of Averroes instead of their own, spinning out endless cobwebs of used-up argument, attacking and defending the same old texts. They gave up nothing of the middle ages except their religion; for the Paduan pedants made no secret of their repugnance to the Christian faith. Men saw the pale professor with eyes fixed on the ground, slouching through the streets, unconscious of the crowd; and they said among themselves, 'There he goes, searching for arguments against the being of a God!' And Petrarch was so annoyed by their irreverential sallies that he loathed the science of medicine and the very name of Arabia. The Averroists called Petrarch a good sort of man, but thought it a pity he should set up for a scholar. One day as he sat in his library, one of these profound philosophers entered,

<sup>112</sup> Renan, 237, *sqq.*

<sup>113</sup> We cannot follow the rise and fortunes of the Paduan school through three centuries. The traditions of the common intellect, and denial of the separate life after death, were maintained throughout, especially by Pomponatius. In the age of Leo X. and Bembo such speculations were not unpopular in the very Vatican; and the attacks of Ludovicus Vives, Erasmus, and others, upon Averroes breathe the air of the Renaissance rather than of orthodoxy.

<sup>114</sup> Cremonini, the last pure Averroist, survived Bacon, was contemporary with Descartes, and died when experience had already begun to form the ideas of Locke.

and when Petrarch in conversation quoted St. Paul, exclaimed angrily, 'Keep your miserable little Pauls and Augustines to 'yourself; I have my master, and know in whom I have believed. 'If you could but read Averroes!'—The poet flashes into sudden rage at this misapplication of the sacred words, seizes his visitor's cloak, ('I could hardly keep my hands from his throat,' he says); and thrusting him out into the street, bids him never to darken his doors again.

We have thus seen Ibn Roshd, the patient, truth-loving, liberal-minded student, become a watchword of contention among the sects of a Church to which he never belonged; become the patron saint of infidelity, the leader invoked by all the freest, not to say wildest, thinkers of several centuries, while all who professed any respect for religion heaped opprobrium upon his name; and finally, fall into utter and undeserved oblivion.

Name and fame,—to fly sublime  
Through the courts, the camps, the schools,  
Is to be the ball of Time,  
Bandied in the hands of fools.

Such is the posthumous immortality which he thought would compensate for an actual and individual life beyond the grave!

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- ART. VIII.—1. *Report on Bhootan*. By Captain R. Boileau Pemberton, Envoy to Bhootan; Calcutta : 1839.
2. *Asiatic Researches*. Vol. XV. Serampore : 1825,—“ Some account of the Country of Bhootan,” by Kishenkant Bose.
3. *Englishman Newspaper* for May 31, 1864.

IT is worthy of remark that although we have, since our assumption of Bengal, sent four different missions into Bhootan, and have suffered yearly from the aggressions of the Bhootanese, our ignorance of them is surpassed only by our astonishing patience and long-suffering with regard to them.

Our first acquaintance with the Bhooteahs was in 1772, when they invaded Cooch Behar, and, on the protection of the British Government being applied for by that State, a force consisting of four companies of sepoy and two guns drove them out of the Cooch Behar territory, and took possession of the fortress of Dalimkote, and of several of the Doars, or the lands between the mountain chain and the Cooch Behar frontier, which the Bhooteahs had previously wrested from the Mogul Government. At the request of the Thibetan Government these lands were restored, ‘from consideration for the distress to which the ‘Bhootans alleged themselves to be reduced,’ and at the same time a portion of the Doars which was undoubtedly British territory, was out of pure love and charity ceded to Bhootan. In 1794 our first mission was sent under the direction of Mr. Bogle. This mission however, and that of Captain Turner in 1783, though sent in the first instance to Bhootan, were really missions to Thibet, and no records remain to show either the nature or the result of their negotiations with Bhootan. It is not till 1815 that we come again into direct relations with the Bhootan Government. In that year a Bengalee of the name of Kishenkant Bose was deputed by the Judge of Rungpore to settle some boundary disputes, and the result of his observations are preserved in ‘an account of Bhootan,’ translated by D. Scott, Esq., and published in Volume 15 of the *Asiatic Researches*. This account, though containing a great deal of irrelevant matter, and some such remarkable statements as the following,—‘In ‘Bhootan lightning does not descend from the clouds as in Bengal, but rises from the earth: this was not actually seen, but

'the holes in the earth were inspected, and it is universally reported to be the case by the inhabitants,'—affords also a considerable amount of valuable information regarding to the relation of the Government with its subjects, the habits and customs of the people, and the administration of justice.

The assumption by the British Government of Assam again brought us into complicated relations with Bhootan. The Doars, or passes, on the Assam frontier, with a considerable amount of plain land attached to each, had been partially wrested from the feeble hands of the Assam rulers; and were for the most part held by the Bhooteah authorities under an annual tribute. Shortly after the annexation, in 1828, the Bhooteahs made a serious incursion from these Doars into the plains, put to death a small police guard, and carried away a number of captives, who however were rescued. From that time for ten years in succession, their incursions were regular and continual, frequently resulting in the capture of a number of British subjects, and in loss of life, and on one or two occasions leading to serious collisions with the forces under the local officers. On all these occasions, remonstrances and letters were unattended to, and nothing but the temporary retention of the Doars had any effect. From these Doars the rulers, who resided in the barren mountains to the North, drew all their supplies, all their comforts, and all their wealth, and this is the sole method of dealing with them that has ever been found really effectual.

In 1838 Captain Pemberton's mission was deputed to Bhootan, and he has left a tolerably full and complete account of the country, but the style is ponderous, and the narrative not sufficiently readable to attract any one save those who may be compelled to consult it in search of facts. It is, however, mainly to his book that we owe what knowledge we have of the country, its rulers, and people. That this mission was not permanently successful may be gathered from the fact that in 1841 Lord Auckland was obliged to threaten the resumption of all the Doars, and shortly after, actually to resume those on the Assam frontier, paying 10,000 Rupees annually as compensation. The Doars on the frontier of Bengal and Cooch Behar remained attached to Bhootan. From that time till 1856 these aggressions continued without receiving any sensible check from the British Government, till at last the attention of Lord Dalhousie was called to the matter, and shortly before he left India, he decided that in the case of any further aggression the Doars on the Bengal frontier should be resumed, and a force was accordingly posted at the frontier station of Julpigoree.

In the meantime it was represented that the central Government of Bhootan was possibly not cognisant of, or responsible for, these repeated outrages, and on this account, as well as from the impossibility of adopting forcible measures during the mutinies, Lord Dalhousie's intentions were not carried out, and the Government contented itself with declaring that Ambaree Fallacottah, a mehal which we held in farm from Bhootan, and for which we paid an annual rental of 2,000 Rupees, should be attached, and the revenue withheld till such time as the Bhooteeahs should make atonement for their continued outrages.

This measure was as ineffectual as the threat of resuming the Doars, and the raids of the Bhooteeahs went on with undiminished impunity, and with increased violence and insolence.

Some idea may be formed of the frequency and nature of these when we state that in a period of three months, between November 1861 and February 1862, the following series of outrages were reported as having been committed either in our territories, or in the territories of Cooch Behar and Sikkim under our protection:—

1. A raid into Cooch Behar, and the carrying away of four men and two women to be sold into slavery,—besides other property.
2. The plunder from British subjects on the Gowalparah frontier of eighteen buffaloes; levying forced contributions and attempting to carry off two ryots.
3. Actually carrying off from the same district eight persons.
4. The plunder from Mr. Pyne of Silgooree of an elephant, which was traced to the possession of the Katma (or district officer) of Gopalgunge in Bhootan, and was not given up.
5. An attempted raid into Ambaree Fallacottah to levy tribute, which was checked by a timely movement of troops.
6. An actual raid into Sikkim, in which thirteen men and women, and twenty-three head of cattle were carried away.

When it is remembered that this list merely contains the outrages reported in one period of three months, and that it is but a specimen link out of a connected chain of such outrages occurring with more or less frequency at different times, but never entirely ceasing, and from which our subjects on the frontier are never safe; when it is remembered that the forts and monasteries in Bhootan draw their supply of servants entirely from slaves captured in this manner; that the gift of slaves by the frontier officers to the central governors is the most acceptable of all bribes, and is the best means of securing a prolonged tenure of office; that the late mission saw no less than 300 of these slaves about the forts of Paro and Ponakha; when it is



remembered that Pemberton's assertion that there are to be found 'some thousands of Bengalees and Assamese, the Helots of 'the country, who have been carried off at various times from 'the plains by the Bhooteahs in their several incursions, and 'who lead a life devoted to the most menial and degrading 'offices,' is no less true now than it was five and twenty years ago, it will we think be universally admitted that never has a weak state offered such a continued series of insult and aggression to a powerful neighbour, and never has such unparalleled patience and long-suffering been exhibited by a strong state; nor ever so entirely and utterly thrown away.

Still the Government seems to have been unwilling to resort to extreme measures; it was supposed, and not without reason, that in a country so little governed as Bhootan the frontier officers acted very much as they chose, and that our unceasing remonstrances had never reached the central authorities. This opinion was in fact borne out by a messenger from the Deb Rajah, who was deputed to receive the revenue of the Assam Doars, and who brought despatches to the Governor-General's Agent on the North-East Frontier. 'No mention,' we quote from the Bengal Administration Report of 1861-62, 'was 'made in those despatches of the outrages we had complained 'of. The Rajah (the messenger) had merely been sent for the purpose of receiving the annual allowance we make to Bhootan for 'certain Doars, amounting to about Rupees 10,000, and if possible 'to obtain an increase of 2,000 or 3,000 Rupees to the allowance. 'Nothing transpired regarding the stoppage of rents of Ambaree 'Fallacottah. There is reason therefore for suspecting that they 'had never been remitted to the Deb Rajah, but appropriated by the 'Soobah of Dalimkote, and our failing to obtain redress from the 'Bhootan Government by withholding them is thus easily explained. During the conference the Agent spoke of the outrages of 'the Bhootanese on our territory, and the evasive replies of the Deb 'Rajah to our demands for redress. The Durpun Rajah replied 'that no complaints from the Agent had reached the Deb 'Rajah. He observed that "there were a great many Doars, and "a great many kinds of people in them who made mischief in "them, and that the Deb Rajah really did not know what "went on in the Doars. What goes on in the Doars is concealed from the Deb Rajah." There is every reason to believe 'that this is a correct representation of the condition of the administration of Bhootan. It is probable that the Revenue 'of Ambaree Fullacottah is annually appropriated by the Dalimkote Soubah, and that the Deb Rajah is thus unaware of its attachment. The letters that purported to be replies from the Deb

‘Rajah to our demands for redress were doubtless the spurious productions of some of the Soobahs or Katmahs through whom our communications to the Bhootan Government are transmitted.’

This view of the complicity of the central Government may perhaps have been too lenient, but certainly it was no incorrect measure of their powerlessness to control their frontier officers.

In truth there is no Government in Bhootan; there is a form or shadow of Government, and there are regular gradations of offices, but if we enquire into the method by which these offices are filled, into the security and conditions of their tenure, and the control exercised by a superior authority over an inferior, all the real elements which make up the vitality of a Government will be found absolutely and entirely wanting.

In some governments, especially in feudal Governments, offices are hereditary, in some, as in China, they are obtained by competitive examination, in others selection is the principle which governs appointments, in others again the candidate is elected by a majority of votes; to each and all these systems some recognised advantages attach, and they are perhaps all suitable to different stages of society, but by none of these methods are the higher offices to be obtained in Bhootan. There in all its bare nakedness obtains the law of force;

‘The good old rule, the simple plan,  
That they should take who have the power,  
And they should keep who can.’

The Government is not as might at first be supposed, ‘a despotism tempered with revolutions,’ but it is simple anarchy, anarchy tempered by custom, but none the less anarchy.

At the head are the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs, but the Dhurm Rajah and his council of priests are supposed not to exercise any authority in temporal affairs, but to confine themselves to the supervision of the large population of priests, who are theoretically absorbed in spiritual contemplation.

The Deb Rajah is the head of the Executive Government, and he governs with the aid of a council, two of whom appear from Pemberton to be looked upon as nominees of the Dhurm Rajah, and the other members are principally the governors of forts, such as Poonakh and Tassisudan and others. In this council the Tongso Pilo (or Penlow as the account in the *Englishman* makes it,) and the Paro Pilo have seats. These two chiefs are the most powerful men in the country. They are respectively the governors of Eastern and Western Bhootan, they are always at feud with each other, and the annual revolutions usually take the form of one of these barons attempting to supplant the existing Deb

Rajah by a nominee of his own. It is from among the members of this council only that the Deb Rajah can properly be chosen, although practically this rule appears not to be kept, and whoever may be the nominee of the Pilo who happens for the moment to be the stronger, becomes Deb Rajah and is necessarily a puppet in the hands of the chief who set him up.

The Deb can legally only hold his seat for three years, but it is very rarely that he is permitted to do that. Kishenkant writing in 1815 says, 'The intestine broils which so frequently occur in Bhootan are usually occasioned either by the Deb Rajah doing something contrary to custom, or by his remaining too long in his office, in which case the Zampes (or members of council), the Pilos, &c. assemble and require him to resign, and in the event of a refusal a battle ensues. . . . . These battles always take place at the annual pujas in Assin and Phalagoon,'—and further on he says, 'Where a person gets a good appointment, he is not allowed to keep it long, but at the annual religious festivals frequent removals and appointments take place. The Deb Rajah himself after a time is liable to be thrust out on some such a pretence as that of his having infringed established customs, and unless he have either Tongso or Paro Pilo on his side, he must, if required to do so, resign his place or risk the result of a civil war; on this account the Deb Rajah strives by removals and changes at the annual festivals to fill the principal offices with persons devoted to his interest.'

It must be understood further that, just as the Deb is liable to be removed by his council and subordinate officers, and consequently takes advantage of the two annual festivals to fill the offices as far as possible with his own adherents, a precisely similar relation exists between the two Pilos, and the Soobahs or Jungpens under them, and consequently on a new Pilo being appointed, he removes the chief Soobahs or governors of forts and passes under him, and as the new nominee seldom succeeds in getting possession of his office without a fight, while both he and the old incumbent know that a counter-revolution may be expected at any time, and must take place shortly, anarchy, confusion, and desolation must of necessity ensue, and would certainly be presupposed even had we not ample evidence that they are in fact the normal condition of the country. The effect of such a Government on the character of the people is what might have been expected. Pemberton says, 'The disposition of the Bhooteah is naturally excellent—he possesses an equanimity of temper almost bordering on apathy; and he is rarely sufficiently roused to give vent to his feelings in any ex-



‘clamation of pleasure or surprise—that they are generally honest  
 ‘was fully proved by the fact of our scarcely having lost any-  
 ‘thing during many months’ marching through the country.  
 ‘They are on the other hand indolent to an extreme degree, to-  
 ‘tally wanting in energy, illiterate, immoral, and victims of the  
 ‘most unqualified superstition : their virtues are their own, and  
 ‘their vices are the natural and inevitable consequence of the form  
 ‘of Government under which they live, and the brutalising  
 ‘influence of the faith they profess. In my intercourse with  
 ‘the highest officers of state in Bhootan, the impression created  
 ‘was far less favourable than that produced by observation of  
 ‘the lower orders of the people. The former, I invariably found  
 ‘shameless beggars, liars of the first magnitude, whose most  
 ‘solemnly pledged words were violated without the slightest  
 ‘hesitation—who entered into engagements which they had not  
 ‘the most distant intention of fulfilling, who would play the  
 ‘bully and sycophant with equal readiness—wholly insensible  
 ‘apparently to gratitude, and with all the mental faculties most  
 ‘imperfectly developed. Exhibiting in their conduct, a rare com-  
 ‘pound of official pride and presumption, with the low cunning  
 ‘of needy mediocrity ; and yet preserving at the same time a  
 ‘mild deportment, and generally speaking in a remarkably low  
 ‘tone of voice. Much as my official duties have brought me into  
 ‘close personal intercourse with the native officers of the different  
 ‘courts of India, I had never failed to find some, who formed  
 ‘very remarkable exceptions to the generally condemnatory  
 ‘judgment that would have been pronounced on the remainder ;  
 ‘but amongst the officers of the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs of  
 ‘Bhootan, I failed to discover one, whom I thought entitled  
 ‘to the slightest degree of confidence either in word or  
 ‘deed.’ (p. 158-159)

With such officials, our readers will be prepared for the fol-  
 lowing *naïve* description which Kishenkant gives of the sys-  
 tem of administering justice in Bhootan :—‘The practice of  
 ‘the Courts is that if a man complains, he can never obtain  
 ‘justice, but he may be subject to a fine if he fails to esta-  
 ‘blish his claim. If a merchant has a demand against any one,  
 ‘and can by no means get paid, he can only go to the Deb  
 ‘Rajah or some other judge and say, “Such a man owes me so  
 ‘“much, pray collect the amount, and use it as your own.” The  
 ‘defendant is then summoned, and if the demand is proved to be  
 ‘just, the money is realised for the use of the judge, who, on the  
 ‘other hand, if the claim is not established, takes the amount  
 ‘demanded from the plaintiff. Whenever any landholder or ryot  
 ‘or servant has collected a little money, the officer of Government

‘under whose authority they happen to be placed, finds some plea or other for taking the whole. On this account the ryots are afraid to put on good clothes, or to eat and drink according to their inclination, lest they should excite the avarice of their rulers.’ No wonder that ‘there is no burglary or dacoity in Bhootan, the ryots having nothing in their houses for dacoits to carry away !!’

To complete the sketch of the relation in which the wretched inhabitants of Bhootan stand to their rulers, we will add one more extract from Pemberton:—‘In Bhootan on the death of any head of a family, however numerous his children, and whether male or female, the whole of his property becomes escheated to the Deb or Dhurma, and all that escapes the cupidity of the Soobahs and Pilos is forwarded to Poonakh or Tassisudan and deposited in the stores of the Deb, without the slightest reference to the wide-spreading distress which so sudden a deprivation of the means of subsistence may entail on the afflicted survivors. No ingenuity could possibly have devised a system better calculated to strike at the root of national prosperity than this; all desire of accumulation is destroyed by the certainty that even a favourite son cannot hope to reap the rewards of his father’s industry; and the consequences of the system are everywhere apparent in deserted houses, desolate fields, and neglected villages.’

Every institution of the country thus tends to make officials look upon their office merely as a means of preying on the people; the constant anarchy makes the change of officials a matter of necessity; with an insecure tenure of office, and no fixed salary, every official must feel the immense importance of making hay while the sun shines, and the unbounded rapacity which all the institutions of the country seem to encourage, thus becomes aggravated to an utterly intolerable and immeasurable extent, and can find its limit only in the impossibility of further sucking anything out of an orange which has been already squeezed into a condition of perpetual dryness.

Were this rapacity only exercised against the unhappy Bhooteahs themselves, it would never have been our duty to interfere, but it is the inhabitants of the Doars (whether those wrested by the Bhooteahs from the neighbouring states, or those regularly ceded to them) that principally suffer from it. Pemberton says of the Zinkaffs or *piyadas*:—‘His own countrymen have as little as himself to give, but the plains produce those articles of luxury and commerce which cannot be extracted from his barren mountains; and the powerless Government he serves is unable to check his excesses. The arrival of a party of Zinkaffs in the Doars on any pretence is a calamity against which the inhabitants earnestly pray,—fowls, pigs, goats, rice,

‘clothes, and tobacco are all placed under contribution, not only to the extent necessary for immediate use, but with a commendable foresight for future wants.’ It was not probable that the fact of some of these Doars being in the possession or under the protection of the British Government should go far towards restraining the plundering propensities of a people who are said by Pemberton to know remarkably little of their own country, and among whom no trace or recollection of our former missions existed, when he went there in 1838. Accordingly we find that when the Bhoteahs could no longer levy exactions regularly in the villages within our frontier, they took to a systematic habit of plundering, carrying off men and women into slavery, and taking with them whatever cattle they could lay their hands upon. We have shown the extent to which these outrages were at last carried, and we have explained that the Government were induced to abstain from taking the more decided measures contemplated by Lord Dalhousie, under the belief that the central authorities were not responsible for the outrages committed, and that our complaints were unheeded, simply because they were unheard. The passage from the Administration Report of the Bengal Government, which explains this view, goes on in this wise:—‘Viewing the past history of our relations to Bhootan, the Government have come to the conclusion that all attempts at placing our relations with the Bhootan Government on a satisfactory footing will be ineffectual, unless we contrive to open an uninterrupted communication with the Deb Rajah. The Government have accordingly determined on sending a mission into Bhootan as the only means of explaining the precise nature of our demands and the measures we shall be compelled to adopt, if they are not conceded.’ It was added that ‘during the conference between the Agent to the Governor-General, N. E. Frontier, and the Durpun Rajah, the former mentioned our intention of sending a mission to Bhootan. The Rajah did not appear in the least startled at the announcement, on the contrary he seemed to like the idea and volunteered the offer to make the mission comfortable if they came; that he would come and meet them, bringing all sorts of provisions with him, and treating them as well as we had treated him.’ The Government having come to the determination to send a special Envoy to Bhootan, the first step was to apprise the Deb Rajah of their intention, and a letter to this effect was accordingly sent by the hand of a special messenger in July 1862, and the Bhootan Government were requested to specify the route by which they would wish the Envoy to travel. It was probably hoped that by this means the mission would avoid being exposed to the delays



and obstacles that were thrown in Captain Pemberton's way, on the plea of his not having taken the route which the Bhootan Government deemed most desirable. The result of this solicitude was not particularly favourable. The messengers returned in December 1862, bringing none but the most evasive replies, in which the subject of the proposed mission was avoided, and the Deb Rajah, pretending to treat the matters in dispute as of the most trivial importance, said he would send Zinkaffs (men of a status corresponding with our chuprassees or peons) to settle the points at issue. The Government with that amazing forbearance which has all along characterised our dealings with Bhootan, determined to wait for them; though, in coming to this conclusion, they were also influenced probably by the fact of the season being too far advanced to allow of the mission being despatched immediately without inconvenience, though it was by no means so late as to render its despatch impracticable.

It is needless to say that the promised Zinkaffs never came; moreover the messengers who that year went to Gowhatty for the compensation money annually paid by us on account of the Assam Doars, were despatched not by the Deb, but by the Tongso Pilo, (who, it may be presumed, appropriated the money,) and knew nothing of any intention to send Zinkaffs for the settlement of disputes.

The position of affairs in the middle of 1863 is thus summed up in the last annual report of the Bengal Government :—‘The necessity for some such measure (the projected mission) as a means of opening direct communication with the rulers of Bhootan, and coming to some clear understanding with them, has received still further proof during the past year. Fortunately the officers of Government have been able to prevent any serious outrages by the Bhootanese within our territories, but the state of anarchy which prevails on the other side of the frontier is such as to give rise to continual uneasiness in the villages in the neighbourhood. In the outlying Soobahships which march with our North-Eastern Provinces, the authority of the central governing power seems to be little more than nominal. It is true that power delegates the Soobahs, but might is right in those districts, and the newly-appointed representative of the Deb Rajah has generally to contest his post with some rival. The defeated competitor as a general rule takes refuge within our territory and endeavours to embroil our subjects in his quarrel. Two instances of this occurred in the year under review. In one the refugee was a Soobah by name Garrow Katma, who had to be removed from the frontier to Gowalparah to prevent him from enlisting British subjects in his cause. In

‘the other case the Soobah of Mynagorie, Sara Wong, compelled  
‘to yield to a successor appointed to supersede him, retired after  
‘a struggle to Gowhatty, where he was allowed to remain. After  
‘a time, however, he left that place and managed to muster a  
‘small body of followers, at whose head he encountered and  
‘defeated the forces of his rival in an engagement fought at  
‘Choorabunder just beyond our frontier, and within view of the  
‘Deputy Magistrate of Titalyah and the officer commanding the  
‘troops at Julpigoree, who had proceeded thither to prevent  
‘any aggression upon our confines.

‘But though the reasons for despatching a mission remain in  
‘the Lieutenant-Governor’s opinion as cogent as ever, it has  
‘been found impossible to carry out the measure during the past  
‘year. Before sending an Envoy it was necessary to ascertain  
‘the intentions of the Deb Rajah as to his reception, and the  
‘messenger despatched with this object did not return till No-  
‘vember, even then the reply he brought from the Deb Rajah  
‘was unsatisfactory and evasive. He complains of the stoppage  
‘of the payment of the revenues of Ambaree Fallacottah, and of  
‘the vagueness of the accusations of Bhooteah outrages in Bri-  
‘tish territory, but treats the question of the mission in a hurried  
‘and indefinite way, and endeavours to put the matter off by  
‘a promise to send Zinkaffs himself to Gowhatty. The Lieute-  
‘nant-Governor upon receipt of this intelligence pressed for the  
‘despatch of a mission at once from Darjeeling as a starting point,  
‘but the Government of India deemed it better to wait for the  
‘arrival of the promised Zinkaffs. No messengers, however, have  
‘yet arrived, and there is strong reason to believe that the promise  
‘to send them was a mere excuse for evasion. The despatch of  
‘a mission is still under consideration.’ The despatch of a mis-  
sion was ultimately decided upon, and it was entrusted to the  
Honourable Ashley Eden, his coadjutors being Dr. Simpson as  
medical officer, Captain Godwin Austin as assistant to the En-  
voy, Captain Lance in command of the Escort, and Cheboo Lama  
as interpreter. The mission was originally to have started early  
in November, but it was deemed better to wait till the revo-  
lution which then happened to be going on should be brought to a  
conclusion, and the mission was unable to start till the close  
of 1863.

The objects of the mission can readily be gathered from the  
preceding pages. The main object would of course be the  
restoration of British subjects kept in captivity, and redress  
or compensation of some kind for their continual plundering  
incursions. The secondary objects would be to insist upon some  
means of communication with the central authority of Bhootan,

such as the appointment of a British Agent at the Court, so as to ensure our complaints being heard, even if not attended to, and the mutual rendition of criminals. It is also stated that the Envoy was to demand permission for our subjects to trade freely in Bhootan, but the Government, knowing the jealous and suspicious policy, which is the common characteristic of all the Indo-Chinese races, can scarcely have expected that such a demand would be conceded. The Bhootan Government was apprised in the most friendly terms of the departure of the mission, it was not left in ignorance of the rank of the Envoy, and was requested to depute an officer of rank to meet and accompany him through Bhootan territory as had been done in the case of Captain Pemberton's mission.

From the commencement of their march through Bhootan, it was obvious that the presence of the mission was unwelcome. Of their progress we have but little information. Their road lay from Darjeeling to Dalimkote, thence to Zalimkote, and thence to Paro. It was not long before the Envoy found that the escort which, as originally provided, consisted of fifty Sikhs and fifty Sappers of the Sebundee corps, were so numerous as to impede his march, for it was impossible in that poverty-stricken country, and without the co-operation of the rulers to procure supplies and carriage even for a hundred men. Rather than be turned back the Envoy determined to proceed with an escort diminished to fifteen men. Even with these he had no little difficulty in getting on. The march through the Taigon Pass, which leads down to Paro, was one of unexampled difficulty. It was a matter of great importance that the mission should not be delayed on this side of the Pass, and the march was undertaken and continued during a snow storm, which lasted for thirty-five hours, through snow of two or three feet in depth, and was not completed till past midnight. Nothing but the most persevering endeavours on the part of the officers of the mission could have succeeded in inducing the coolies to proceed, and as it was two men succumbed and, overpowered by the cold, sunk down and died.

At every turn the mission met with obstruction and discouragement, though never with actual resistance, and always with friendly language. Thus at Paro messengers came from the Deb's council, and verbally stated that they had orders to return with the Envoy and settle all disputes on the frontier, but on its being made clear that the Envoy would treat with no messengers, but was determined to go on and deliver the Governor-General's letter to the hands of the Deb, unless the Deb Rajah himself should distinctly decline to receive him, the messengers pro-



duced a letter from the Deb, which was tolerably friendly in its terms, saying not a word about the messengers having power to treat with him, and desiring him particularly to understand that the Deb by no means declined to receive him, and that he was not to think of returning to Darjeeling. Obviously the policy of the Bhootan Government was by constant discouragement and obstruction, to weary out the patience of the Envoy and induce him to retire in disgust; they would then have deprecated anything like remonstrance on the part of the British Government by pointing to their letters and saying that, had the Envoy only proceeded, he would have been warmly welcomed by the Government, and every thing would have been satisfactorily arranged.

It has been argued in some journals that the Envoy, seeing the tone of the authorities to be practically unfriendly, and that the objects of the mission were not likely to be accomplished should have returned, and not have persisted in his journey. Had he done so, what would have been the result? He would exactly have played into the hands of the Bhootan Government. He would have failed in bringing our demands for redress and for the restoration of the captives, to the notice of the Deb; he would have left his own Government still in ignorance how far the central authority of Bhootan shared in and was responsible for the outrages of its frontier officers; the question between the two Governments would have been left just as it was; and—while the Deb Rajah would have succeeded in evading the difficulty of having to acknowledge and answer our claims for redress, and would have been free to continue the system of aggression and plunder, which is the normal intercourse that the Bhootan Government holds with us—the Indian Government would have had no grounds for complaining that the Deb Rajah had refused to receive a friendly mission, and would still have been withheld by the old doubts and scruples from resenting on the central Government of Bhootan the outrages and incursions in which its actual complicity was uncertain, and for which its moral responsibility has been habitually veiled behind its powerlessness. In the face of such considerations as these, it was obviously the duty of the Envoy not to allow himself to be turned back, even had not a care for his personal reputation pointed in the same direction. It must, however, be satisfactory to him to think that, had he retired, it would have been imputed to personal cowardice by those consistent critics who blame him for excessive rashness in proceeding, and who in the same breath accuse him of signing the treaty under an overwhelming sense of personal insecurity.

No doubt there was a risk in proceeding, with such a slender escort as fifteen men, in opposition to the understood though not expressed wish of the Bhootan Government, but the Bhooteals are arrant cowards, and the Envoy had at the time no reason for supposing that they would proceed to violence, and, so long as the risk was not such as further to complicate the relations between the two Governments, it was obviously the duty of the Envoy not to shrink from it.

At Paro the mission were detained over a fortnight,—their reception at first was most unfriendly, but a remonstrance from the Envoy, and a threat to return to Darjeeling, brought about an improved tone, and after the first interview the Pilo was not only friendly but communicative. He explained to the Envoy that the Tongso Pilo, his ancient rival and enemy, was really the master of the council, that the present Deb was a puppet in his hands, and that the Council would try to evade receiving the mission; he, however, recommended that it should proceed and offered, if necessary, to assist it with force. This enlightened public officer, who saw probably in such a state of affairs an opportunity for making a successful *coup d'état*, is reported to have been grossly inquisitive about the personal habits of the English, and to have asked questions, in repeating which the interpreter was fain to hide his face from shame, and which the officers of the mission were unwilling to understand.

Shortly after leaving Paro another endeavour was made to persuade the Envoy to turn back, but with no better success. He again answered that he was charged with letters from the Governor-General to the Deb Rajah, and unless the latter distinctly declined to receive him, or distinctly refused him permission to proceed, the mission would not turn back. As before the Deb had no intention of the kind, and so the mission proceeded. On their arrival at Poonakh, it might have been hoped that, the obstructive policy having proved futile, the Bhootan Government would see the expediency of treating them in a friendly and respectful manner, but the barbarian instinct broke out, and every opportunity of offering insult and indignity, short of absolute violence and outrage, was adopted. As the Court were residing at Poonakh, which is in the jurisdiction of the Tongso Pilo, he had a seat in council, but he appears also to have usurped the presidentship and to have had the whole practical power in his hands. He it was who gave the tone to all the proceedings of the Bhootan Government, and who is mainly responsible for the insults the mission received at their hands.

The mission were first received by the council or amlah of the durbar. On that occasion they were taken to a tent after being kept waiting for a long time in the sun, and being pelted and hustled by the mob. Their reception by the amlah had in it nothing remarkable, and although no business was done, arrangements for conducting it in future were made. On the occasion of their visit to the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs, the mission were grossly insulted, with the evident and studied intention of making the indignity felt. They were received by the council, but instead of being allowed chairs as before, they were forced to sit on mats outside the durbar tent in the sun. The Governor-General's letter, on being handed to the Tongso Pilo, was thrown by him on the ground, and afterwards carried by a common coolie to the Deb Rajah, where it met with no more ceremonious treatment. Before receiving their dismissal from the durbar that day, the mission were exposed to further ill-treatment, a mob pressed in upon them, and lifting up a man flung him into the midst of them. They complained, but no one took any notice. When it was proposed to go through the treaty, before hearing what articles it contained, the Tongso Pilo suddenly declared that a clause must be inserted restoring to Bhootan the Assam Doars which had been resumed more than twenty years ago. It was in vain that Mr. Eden remonstrated, pointing out that the question had been settled for twenty years, during which time we had regularly paid, and they received the compensation of 20,000 Rupees, to which they had never objected, that his instructions were definite and complete, and that beyond them he had no power to treat. The Tongso Pilo in reply only insulted him, openly threatening war, and, saying that a peon might as well have been sent, telling him finally to go. Mr. Eden appealed to the other members of the Council, stating that he had come in spite of great obstacles and difficulties to secure friendly relations between the two Governments, and that as he was treated with insult, there was nothing left for him but to return to Darjeeling and report the result of his mission to the Governor-General, and that the consequences would be on the head of those who had thus treated him.

When it was discovered that he really intended to depart, the other members of the durbar spared no pains to deprecate such a course, and promised that the treaty should be adopted. Mr. Eden learning that any way he would not be allowed to depart, and believing that the amlah would maintain in durbar the promises privately made, and would accept the treaty in whole or in part, consented to remain, and got the treaty translated. A durbar was held, and all the articles with the excep-



tion of two, one concerning the permission for a British Agent to reside at the Deb Rajah's Court, and the other for freedom to trade, were agreed to. As there was no possibility of getting the council to consent to these points, they were abandoned by Mr. Eden, but all the others were accepted, no mention being made of the Assam Doars. Nothing then remained but to get the treaty copied, signed, and sealed, and there seemed every anticipation of the mission being brought after all to a successful issue. Two days sufficed to show the futility of these hopes. A durbar was again held on the 24th to get the necessary signatures, and the copies of the treaty were actually being compared with the accepted draft as a preliminary to their being signed, when once more without any warning the Tongso Pilo insisted on the restoration of the Assam Doars, and added, among other monstrous demands, that all the revenue collected since the date of resumption, calculated at three lacs per annum, should be paid over to him. Mr. Eden expressed his astonishment at the conduct of the durbar, who, after agreeing to the clauses of the treaty, and after promising that the matter of the Doars should not again be mentioned, yet allowed the negotiations to be interrupted in this way, but they were all unwilling or afraid to appear opposed to the Tongso Pilo, who was in reality the only man that took part in the business. The Envoy again explained that he was not authorized to treat at all on the subject, and that such a suggestion would never be listened to by his Government, but the Tongso Pilo merely replied by insulting him, and threatened distinctly that the Envoy having come to Bhootan, should not be allowed to return without settling the matter. Then came that series of personal indignities which cannot fail to remind the reader of the insults offered to the Roman ambassador Posthumus in the theatre of Tarentum, insults which brought out the memorable threat that it would take not a little blood to wash his gown white, and which had for their consequence the first collision between Rome and Greece, and thence the whole shape and form which was afterwards given to Roman civilisation. The Tongso Pilo in his wretched pride and ignorance dared to offer to the British Envoy insults worse than those which Posthumus underwent at the hands of the men of Tarentum. He did not scruple insolently to lay hands on Mr. Eden in open durbar, he pulled his hair, he struck him on the back, he smeared his face with dough, and then presumed to laugh off his insolence as a matter of friendly familiarity. At the same time another member of the council, the Jungpen or governor of one of the forts, plastered Dr. Simpson's face with *pán* which he had himself been chewing, and, seizing a watch from another member of

the embassy, passed it on to one of the other members of the durbar who secreted it in his dress. The position of the mission at this time appears to have been one of great peril, and a single false step might have destroyed them. Happily, seeing the serious view which the mission took of their insults, and that they were about to call up their escort, the cowardly nature of the Bhooteah resumed its force, and the members of the durbar began to perceive that they had gone too far—they restored the watch and chain, and requested Dr. Simpson to wipe the stain from of his face, as if that would remove the insult from his memory. This he would not do, but the mission were able to take advantage of this turn in the state of affairs, and succeeded in making a quiet retreat to their tents without further molestation.

The object of the mission now was to get safely back to English territory. But while making their preparations for departure, they received an intimation that they would not be allowed to depart till the Envoy had signed a draft treaty which was submitted, containing an agreement to give up to Bhootan the Assam Doars, and to pay a compensation at the rate of three lacs per annum since the date of their resumption. The interpreter to the mission was sent to explain the often-repeated powerlessness of the Envoy to make such an agreement, and that even if he consented to it, it would not be of the smallest value. The reply was that there was no alternative, but to sign or to be imprisoned. A day's delay was obtained, and in the meantime it was discovered through some of the more friendly of the amlah, that the threat of imprisonment was not a vain or empty form of intimidation, but that deliberate preparations had been made, and it would assuredly be carried out. Indeed it was proposed in the durbar at once to put the Envoy to death, but as that was evidently the worst use they could make of him the proposal was not accepted. So much careless criticism has been expended on the course which the Envoy subsequently took, and so much blame either ignorant or malicious has been heaped on Mr. Eden, that it is necessary here to examine closely the position in which the mission now found themselves. It might be gathered from the report in the *Englishman* of May 31st, (which bears evident traces of an official origin, and which, as it is generally supposed to have been contributed 'under authority' of the Foreign Department, we have hitherto followed with tolerable exactness) that the consent of Mr. Eden to sign the treaty was extorted under the immediate pressure of the violence of the Tongso Pilo and other officers in durbar, when the insults above described were offered to the Envoy. We have

every reason to believe that this was not the case, and that the course taken by the Envoy was adopted after full deliberation, and with the concurrence of the other members of this mission. In point of fact it was the only course open to them. It must be remembered that the mission comprised besides the four English officers, and the guard of fifteen Sikhs, a string of coolies and camp-followers, bringing the total number up to 200; that they could get no supplies for this party except such as the Bhootan officers might afford, in addition to what they had with them; that the fighting portion of the camp numbered at most twenty men, and they were some three weeks' journey from their own frontier, in the midst of a hostile people and with the authorities determined not to let them go, unless the treaty was signed. The duty of the Envoy was under the circumstances clear;—(1) to take care that his Government was placed in a position as little embarrassing as possible; and (2) to bring off his whole party if possible with safety. To these objects all care for personal reputation and for personal safety, all desire to take revenge for the insults offered to him, were necessarily made subservient, and had the Envoy allowed any of these feelings to overcome his prudence and his care for the interests of Government, he might have won the brief applause of a few unthinking persons, but he would have failed in his highest duty.

To march out of the place, and to resist any opposition by force, must have suggested itself to the mission, but the chance of success against such odds was infinitesimal. The coolies and camp-followers would have fled, only to furnish another large addition to the number of British subjects held in slavery, and the officers and the Sikhs would in all probability have been massacred. Then the war which is now at the option of our Government to undertake or not to undertake, as they please, would have been forced on them, the needless waste of life must have been followed by the invasion of Bhootan, and by a war to be carried on with all its evils and with possible disaster in a barren and mountainous country, and the Government would have been not one whit in a better position to make terms than they are now. A somewhat less hazardous course would have been to attempt an escape by night, and to take advantage of the friendly offers of the Paro Pilo of protection; but this could only have been done by abandoning to slavery the whole crowd of coolies and camp-followers, while the greatest uncertainty must have been felt by the officers of the mission as to whether the Paro Pilo was either willing or able to protect them.



Again, it has been suggested that the Envoy might have consented to remain in captivity on condition that the rest of the mission should be free to return, but even if this had secured the safety of the rest of the mission, the first of the two objects which it was the duty of the Envoy to provide for would have been frustrated. The Government would have been most grievously embarrassed. They would have had to go to war to release their Envoy, and that at a time when war cannot be successfully carried on in Bhootan, and with the knowledge that the threat of killing the Envoy would be held *in terrorem* to check every movement, and to complicate all negotiation. The only other course was to sign, under protest, after carefully explaining that the signature was valueless, and that the Government would not hold themselves bound by it. No doubt this course too had its disadvantages. No doubt it is deplorable that a British Envoy should be forced against his will, and in spite of his protestations, into even a nominal agreement to a treaty containing terms discreditable to our Government, however absurd the treaty may be, and however little it may be binding on the Government, but, having said this, we have said all; the compulsion was an insult, but an insult is only permanently injurious to a Government, when unresented, and when the aggressor is allowed to look upon his impunity as a sign of the weakness of the party insulted. It was an insult, and the means of resenting it were not at hand, but it must have been certainly believed by the mission that such an insult would not be allowed to remain long unavenged.

Moreover by the course which the Envoy took, the Government are in no wise embarrassed. The treaty was signed, with the words 'under compulsion' attached to the signature, and it is needless to point out that a treaty obtained in such circumstances, signed by an Envoy having no authority to agree to such terms, and unratified by the Government, is no more than waste paper. Indeed the Bhootan Government, or rather the chief who at the time guided it, must have been well aware that such an agreement would never be carried out. He may perhaps have thought that it would give the Bhootan Government a better stand-point for any future negotiations, but it seems most probable that, in his utter ignorance and barbarism, having once desired that a clause should be inserted in the treaty for the return of the Doars, he insisted upon having his own way, however little value might be attached to the clause so obtained. Any way he was not deceived, he was repeatedly told that the signature would have no effect, and that the treaty would not be ratified. The Indian Government therefore are in no way

embarrassed by their Envoy having had to sign such a treaty, and on the other hand they have learnt what is the real nature of the Bhootan Government, and how utterly futile it is to attempt to treat with them according to the forms used among civilised nations, or to suppose that any treaty which they may enter into, will bind them. By the course which Mr. Eden adopted, agreeing, that is to say, to sign the treaty, and signing it under compulsion, he has succeeded in obtaining the two objects, which as we have pointed out, the circumstances of the mission rendered of paramount importance. He succeeded in bringing back his whole party safely to Darjeeling, and the Government are now in all respects in an infinitely better position for dealing with the Bhootan Government than they were before. They know that the Bhootan Government are responsible for, and cognisant of, the continually recurring aggressions on our territory, and the captivity of our subjects ; they know that to expect redress or compensation from such a Government is futile, that they despise our forbearance, and regard our leniency as weakness, that our rights must be maintained by force and not by threats, and that anything like friendly intercourse with the disintegrated concourse of robbers that forms the Government of Bhootan is utterly out of the question.

To Mr. Eden, of all men, such a proceeding as signing a treaty the provisions of which would be disgraceful if they were not so utterly absurd, must have been most repulsive. It is repugnant to the ordinary instinct of British courage to do anything under compulsion, and a thousand times over must it be repugnant, when the compulsion is applied by a set of contemptible barbarians, and the thing to be done is *per se* in any way discreditable. That Mr. Eden did nevertheless keep this natural feeling of repugnance, and his regard for his own personal reputation (for he must have foreseen the kind of criticism to which he would be exposed,) subordinate to his duty to his Government and to his care for the other members of the mission ; that he preferred to act according to the dictates of prudence and sagacity, rather than according to those of pride and passion, entitles him, we consider, to our highest respect, and to the gratitude and support of Government. He avoided rashness in a position where instinct and temper and habits of thought must all have prompted him to act rashly, because he saw that a single rash step would be fatal, not only to himself, but to those who were under his guidance ; and in his signing the treaty when he did, no less than in advancing in the first instance in the face of all the obstacles which the cunning of a barbarian Government had placed in

his way, we consider that he displayed the truest and highest species of courage, in that he manfully did his duty by the Government which had employed him, regardless alike of personal danger and personal reputation.

When Mr. Eden, after vainly attempting a final remonstrance, had consented to sign the treaty, the mission were treated with somewhat improved courtesy. They took their leave with the ordinary ceremonies, and trusted that they would then be allowed to depart unmolested. But in this they were doomed to disappointment. A *reconnaissance* of their camp was made with a view to plunder it, but the game promised to be unprofitable and was abandoned. When they were actually marching off, attempts were made to stop them; the interpreter to the mission, Cheboo Lama, was actually detained and only obtained his release by the contrivance of one of the more friendly members of the durbar. Nothing but great address and resolute firmness enabled the mission to get off ultimately with safety. Once however out of the immediate neighbourhood of the durbar, their way was smooth enough, and the return to Darjeeling took them just one quarter of the time which had been expended in the advance to Punakha.

What the results of this mission and of its treatment may be has yet to be seen.

It is, however, clearly the duty of Government to obtain the release of the numerous British subjects kept in captivity in Bhootan, to obtain redress for the many outrages and incursions into our territory committed by the Bhootanese, to vindicate their own dignity in some marked manner after the intolerable insults offered to the Envoy, and to render our subjects and those of the protected states of Sikkim and Cooch Behar secure from any recurrence of Bhootanese aggressions.

It would be premature to discuss the measures which may be taken to secure these objects. It has been publicly stated that the compensation which has hitherto been paid for the Assam Doars will in future be withheld, and this is so obviously the first step in whatever may be undertaken, that we may readily credit it. For the rest we doubt not, that whatever measures may be decided on, whether the blessing of British rule be conferred on the whole country, or only on the frontier Doars, whether our occupation be permanent or temporary, the Viceroy will not fail to obtain complete reparation for past outrages, and a satisfactory guarantee for future security.



- ART. IX.—1. *Lectures on Education delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain.* London : 1854.
2. *Of a Liberal Education in general and with particular reference to the leading studies of the University of Cambridge,* by William Whewell, D. D. London : 1845.
3. *History of the Inductive Sciences,* by William Whewell, D. D. 3rd edition, London : 1857.
4. *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences,* by William Whewell, D. D. 3rd edition, London : 1858.
5. *Minutes of the University of Calcutta.* Calcutta : 1857-1864.

SOME years ago, the Managers of the Royal Institution invited seven eminent representatives of English Science to deliver a series of lectures on education. The list of lecturers comprised Dr. Whewell, Professor Faraday, Dr. Latham, Dr. Daubeny, Professor Tyndall, Mr. Paget, and Dr. Hodgson, and, the special subjects of the lectures being left to the choice of the lecturers, the majority confined themselves, as might have been expected, to an advocacy of the particular branch of Science which had been the special object of their respective studies. To this there were two exceptions. Dr. Whewell and Professor Faraday fitly commenced the series with lectures widely different in treatment, but both dealing with the broader and to us more important topics of Intellectual and Mental Education from a philosophical and general point of view; the former an experienced teacher, trained in the science and traditions of classic, mediæval, and modern but historic times, clinging fondly to forms of philosophy which are fast giving way before the more searching reasoning of Mill, but recognising liberally and frankly the elevating influence of modern Science: the other a man of our own age, a keen observer, bold and fertile in speculation, but a trained and cautious reasoner; not unmindful or unappreciative of the intellectual labours of a past age, but in the true spirit of a student of Physical Science, turning his gaze rather to the future than to the past, contrasting what *is* with what *may be*, pointing forward to the path yet to be traversed rather than lingering to measure the ground already passed over, and seeking to eradicate

those obstacles which yet bar human progress to its unknown bourne in the future.

We place these lectures at the head of the list of works referred to in this article, inasmuch as they appear to us to give the best exposition within a brief compass, of the objects to be fulfilled by a Scientific, as distinguished from a literary system of Education, and by the study of Inductive as contrasted with purely Deductive or Abstract Science. Admitting fully the important influence of each of these kinds of study on the training of the mind, we would draw attention to the fact, clearly enunciated in these lectures, that each class of studies exercises an influence mainly its own, and that the system until lately pursued at the great English Universities, and which practically ignored Inductive or Phenomenal Science, left untrained and uncultivated one at least of the most important faculties of the human mind. Were we dealing with English Education in these remarks, we might well be content to leave the matter in those abler hands which have already to some extent treated it; but as in medical science, the idiosyncrasy of the patient modifies the action of the drugs and should influence the treatment of the physician, so in dealing with a phase of intellect kindred to, but not identical with our own, we must take note of the especial requirements of the Oriental mind, and adapt our system to our patient.

The present moment is well fitted for the discussion of the topic we have selected. The University of Calcutta has from the time of its foundation recognised the claims of Natural and Physical Science to form part of the University course in Arts, that is,—of the general cultivation of the mind, independently of special professional aims; but the means which, in a measure unavoidably, have been adopted to carry out its views, are such as have only tended to perpetuate the very evils, the mental narrowness and dogmatism, which a well-devised system should correct. During the past two years, the question of how to provide proper means of instruction in Physical and Natural Science for the under-graduates of the Calcutta University has been frequently discussed in the Senate, but beyond making a selection from this class of studies optional, a very important reform so far as it goes, nothing has been effected to improve the actual system. The chief difficulty encountered by the University appears to be, strange to say, to find men fitted for the task of teaching, and to provide such means of illustration as are indispensable to useful instruction. These difficulties are however, we believe, less than they appear to be, and there are other causes at work which we shall presently discuss, and which have operated to some extent at least, in retarding the general introduction of an

efficient system of instruction in Natural Science. We must, however, premise some general observations on a matter which lies at the root of the whole subject of Education, and a misconception of which appears to have operated in no small degree, to create those difficulties with which the University has had to contend, and at the same time to bring its teachings into undeserved discredit with those who criticise it from an European point of view and as spectators at a distance.

The only attainable object of general Education is, we take it, to afford the mind such a training in those years in which its powers are approaching maturity, that it may be fitted to turn the experience of after-life to the best account according to its individual grasp and capability. It is not practicable, even were it desirable, to pour into one human brain, whatever its natural capacity, all or even any considerable fraction of the mass of moral, physical, and æsthetic dogmas which experience has taught us to regard as ascertained truths, even leaving out of account all that goes to make up a literary education, the imaginative writings of ancient and modern authors, and the history, told by themselves, of those earlier races, on whose hard experience the superstructure of our own civilization is reared. The three or four years which are all that on an average can be devoted to collegiate study, do not suffice for the acquisition of more than a small amount of what may be known on any one or two selected subjects, and the really important conditions to be fulfilled in laying down an Art's curriculum, are—that such subjects be selected as will but train the mental powers,—and that they be so taught as to ensure this training. However trite these dicta may seem,—and they certainly make no pretension to novelty,—they are not the less disregarded by the majority of those engaged in school education in England; in obedience perhaps partly, to the unintelligent demands of a parental public, which is guided by little better than the traditions of its own youth; to a less extent, a similar disregard obtains here; but for this very reason it is the more imperative on an independent body, free from the trammels of tradition in its corporate capacity at least, freer perhaps than any similar body elsewhere, and charged with the responsible duty of directing the intellectual progress of the country, to conceive clearly the true aim and means of Intellectual Education. The evident tendency of the present day in England, is to fill a boy's mind with an *indigesta moles* of dogma called Natural Science, in addition to the time-honoured Classics and Mathematical Sciences; and probably a crude verbiage, called Modern Languages, unintelligible to any



thing of all the great branches of modern learning, forgetting that such is not possible even to Englishmen, studying in their own language, and trained from their earliest days in the society of educated men and women, from whom they have unconsciously gathered a large substratum of facts and ideas, to serve as a foundation for their College education, and to furnish much of the material which the latter combines and arranges. The native has no advantage of this kind. He has to master a foreign and totally dissimilar language to his own, before he can pass the threshold of his University career; the men with whom his childhood and youth are passed, are as a rule, ignorant of all that constitutes an European education, narrow-minded and unappreciative even of the nature of mental culture; and even if of a higher class of native society, trained in Brahminical lore, and the philosophy of a bygone age, they can but implant that, much of which the first step of his University course will be to eradicate, or which will remain a confirmed obstacle to the introduction of more modern ideas.

The mistake which lies at the root of the misconception above spoken of, is the tacit assumption that a man who has simply passed through an University career should be what is popularly meant by a well-informed man. This is only exceptionally the result among the graduates of our English Universities, and it is certainly unreasonable, in the face of all the additional obstacles which the native student has to contend with, to expect that such a result should generally be attained here. If we wish to make well-informed men among the natives, *i. e.*, men who possess a large amount of information on general topics, and who know how to apply and use that knowledge, we must not begin by giving them a slight and crude smattering of a number of heterogeneous subjects, and then launch them forth with an University degree in the hope that they will pursue a course of intellectual education for themselves in after-years. This will scarcely ever be the sequel. Such a taste for any kind of study as will lead a man to appreciate its pleasures, and follow it out for himself in his after-life, can only be *engendered* when he has so far mastered its elements as no longer to feel a sense of labour in its pursuit. No man can appreciate or enjoy any branch of knowledge until he has thoroughly familiarized himself with all its leading ideas, and gained such an acquaintance with it, as to have his interest awakened by the oft-recurring reminder of the existence of unknown fields beyond him. The commencement is always comparative drudgery. The first ideas gained stand strangely, and fixed as it were by an effort in the mind, and it is only by degrees that these become linked

together and interwoven by trains of connecting thought and fact, and form part and parcel of the mental fabric, a source of conscious pleasure, and a stimulus to further acquisition. The committal of a given quantity of matter to memory is, as we have remarked, an easier mental operation to many, to most minds indeed of ordinary calibre, than that assimilation of ideas and trains of reasoning, which is more properly distinguished as knowledge; but the act is one which brings little pleasure, and is rarely undertaken except under the stimulus of a definite object to be gained, whether for convenience and as conducive to an intellectual object, or with the less meritorious aim of passing an examination. If then we wish to impart to the natives the full benefits of European science, we must induct them more fully than is possible under the present system into some of its leading branches, and this can, as we have shewn, only be done at the sacrifice of variety.

As a consequence of the present superficial system, native graduates go forth from the Examination Hall, with little or no idea of how elementary and crude their acquisitions really are. The simple rudimentary text-books selected by the University, represent to their mind exhaustive treatises on their special or incidental subjects, and the really superficial acquaintance they have gained therewith seems boundless knowledge. And how are they to know otherwise? In their own native society they are looked up to as prodigies of learning; like Gulliver they stalk among Liliputians, and do not dream of the existence of a Brobdingnag race. Hence the pedantry and shallowness so frequently noticed as the result of our University teaching; and hence its failure to instil thorough knowledge, and that cautiousness and sense of self-inferiority which is one of the most valuable results of real knowledge, and is most characteristic of its greatest masters.

We believe then that the true course which the University should pursue, would be to carry still further the reforms already effected to in some extent the case of Natural Science,—to contract the list of essential subjects of examination, to within narrower limits—to allow of selection to a greater extent than at present,—and to insist upon a thorough acquaintance with the *subjects* of examination, instead of with a particular book or books, treating thereon. This latter measure will render many of the Colleges now affiliated incapable of teaching more than a certain small selection of subjects, for it will enforce the substitution of efficient and special professorial teaching by lectures and class discussion, for the present school system with text-books, which practically degrades the professor into a

mere walking Lexicon,—an explainer of hard words. But the Colleges will gain in other respects,—they will be enabled to specialise their staff, and if they cannot compete with the Presidency College in giving their students so wide a selection in their curriculum, they will be the better able to hold their own point of quality, to the great advantage both of teachers and pupils.

The text-book system which has been necessitated by the variety of the course hitherto laid down, offers we believe one of the greatest obstacles to any sound education. No man can understand a subject fully by reading, however carefully, any given book—unless he brings to the task a considerable amount of thought and knowledge elsewhere gained. The text-books selected, are in many cases most rudimentary, and it is rare indeed that their subject matter can be so assimilated, as to constitute useful knowledge, unless the student compare and collate their statements with those of other writers, or with the views held by those who have paid special attention to the subject treated of. It is the mental activity which a course of given study induces in the student, far more than the mere mastery of the subject matter, that constitutes what is valuable in education. Much error of conception, much crudity of reasoning, are engendered at the outset of every course of study, and it is the process by which this is eliminated and corrected, that trains the mind and fortifies it against credulity, prejudice, and overhasty conclusion. Any one acquainted with the native intellect will scarcely fail to have observed how strong is its tendency to rely on and appeal to *authority*. It never attempts, *proprio motu*, to seek for fundamental principles or concrete facts by which to test the dictum of any acknowledged authority; rarely even does it allow its own experience to correct or question a venerated dogma: at the utmost it pits one authority against another and remains blankly without preference, or accepts that which comes recommended as the weightier by the common consent of public opinion. It is here that professorial teaching, if philosophical and undogmatic, is of most value: not merely to explain and comment upon the matter of the study, but to urge the student to think for himself; and to inoculate him with that habit of independent research and self-questioning which is the best corrective of hastiness and dogmatism.

In entering our protest against the text-book system, that is, against the practice of indicating one or a portion of one selected work as that which a candidate for the University degree must commit to memory and on a knowledge of the matter of which he will be examined, we by no means advocate the extreme step of leaving the elections of books of instruction to the students,



or to the affiliated Colleges, without control or restriction. Such a course would evidently be impracticable and absurd : but the University might with advantage limit its functions to the enumeration of those works best fitted to convey instruction on each subject of examination, taking care to include such a variety as will give a fair representation of different views on all important debateable points. Thus, to take an instance or two from those branches of Science with which it is our especial province to deal in the present article, we would include in such a list Dr. Whewell's *Philosophy of Inductive Science* on the one hand, and Mill's *Logic of Induction* on the other, and some acquaintance with the views of both of these writers should be required of all examinees in Mental Science. In Zoology, we would include both Owen and Darwin, and in Geology, Buckland, Lyell, and Phillips, giving preference in each case to the most eminent expositors of the rival views. It has been remarked by Dr. Whewell, that the only mode of understanding the definitions of a Science, is to learn its history ; to follow the conflicts of opposing views, and trace out the process by which in past time, prejudices of judgment and confusion of thought have been gradually eliminated, and clear and consistent conceptions established. But there is an additional lesson to be learned in such a study ; a lesson equally important to men of all creeds and professions ; to the administrator or to the savant : the lesson which may be learned from all history, if treated in a philosophical and large-minded spirit, and if the attention be not frittered away on stories of Court intrigues and battle-field slaughter, but which can nowhere be found more clearly and prominently indicated than in the history of the avowed search for abstract truth.

We, like our fathers, have to fight the old, old enemy—prejudice ; to learn that a thing is not necessarily true, because we have been accustomed so to regard it, that a man is not necessarily a bad member of Society, because he holds opinions different to those which are habitually transmitted from father to son in the nation or sect to which we belong. Is this an obsolete charge ? Is prejudice in its grosser forms no longer the arch enemy of social advancement ? Turn where we will,—to Theology—to Sociology,—to Politics,—to the calm dispassionate domain of pure intellectual science, to ethics or to physics,—do we not find prejudice rampant ; setting man against man, class against class, race against race ? How many of our opinions do we hold as the result of calm and dispassionate research ? How often do we enter on any discussion, with the pure and simple desire to get at the truth ? Is even our so called 'science,' as held by most of us, anything more than a mass of dogma, which we have

accepted on the dictum or have stereotyped from the opinions of those whom we make our *gurus*? We hold ourselves to be vastly wiser than our forefathers, because we believe that the earth moves round the sun, while they believed that the sun moved round the earth, but can most of us give a single philosophical reason for our own view of the matter? And if not, in what respect as intellectual beings are better than they? True, we have matter more at our command, we have a greater variety of objects to pursue, and improved and more rapid means of gaining them, and we can emancipate ourselves to an extent undreamt of by them, from the trammels of restricted experience in space. We can flash the expression of our thoughts and wishes in a few seconds from continent to continent, and we can see more forms and phases of social custom in a couple of years than our ancestors could in a decade. But these achievements do but facilitate self-education; they do not compel it. The fool who has been sent to Rome, is not less a fool than he who has remained in his ancestral halls. The difference of the two cases is that of the swallow and the apteryx, not that of the sage and the boor. He 'who has seen the cities of many men,' only becomes a better and nobler being for his experience, in so far as he cultivates the faculty of unbiassed observation to discern, and a disciplined judgment to reason. To become an experienced man, he must first be an educated man in the sense in which we here use the term; he must start with a desire to learn, and with a deep and ever present sense of the fallibility of his own preconceptions. There are but few who have the natural gift of this self-knowledge; but many are capable of acquiring it; not indeed to its highest degree, as no man can be fashioned at will into that which is utterly at variance with his inherited nature, but still to such an extent as to make them wiser and better men; happier themselves, and more potent to confer happiness on others.

To this end, nothing is more efficacious than a study of history, —the history of men and opinions. But a mere record of plots, intrigues, and battles, with name, date, and circumstance duly elicited from old traditions, private memoirs, or state papers, after more or less controversy, will serve but little to the purpose. Whether Mary Queen of Scots, was virtuous, or how far the early history of Rome is mythical and allegorical, are proper and interesting questions for the antiquarian and historian, but may be profitably excluded from consideration in History as a means of Education, for, if our view be correct, Education of the Mind is the real object of University teaching, and History, Philosophy, and Theologies are mainly to be treated as means to that end.

The History of Inductive Science is a not unimportant chapter in the History of Human Error. The conviction that rest is the natural condition of matter and contradictory to that of Motion,—that Nature abhors a vacuum,—that antipodes are impossible,—were not less certain and self-evident to the most thoughtful men of antiquity, than are the distinction between necessary and experiential truths, the indestructibility of matter and force, or the invariability of the earth's motion to many philosophers of the present day. The thoughtless may laugh with scorn at the credulity of these old intellectual giants; and vaunt their own shallow superiority to the simple errors of antiquity. The thoughtful man will turn to the present day, and note one of the most eminent and philosophical of English naturalists, restating and insisting on the evidence of an avowedly erroneous picture, rather than admit the independent and unquestionably truthful testimony of a number of original observers to the fact that a monkey's brain is not so different from a man's as he had originally believed; or another not less eminent Englishman, eminent in intellect, however his adherence to an ancient faith may to the sight of some of us cloud the lustre of his merits,—decrying all Science, because it fails to attain,—that which the human mind is incapable of ever attaining—absolute and certain truth. Truly we see prejudice in high places. Are we so much wiser than our forefathers?

The History of man in his social and political relations, will ever remain one of the most important branches of the education of youth. Studied conscientiously and in a philosophical spirit, its influence will be more powerful and generally salutary than perhaps any other kind of mental discipline. The bearing of its lessons on our own experience are direct and apprehensible; while it combines in a great measure the charms both of Literature and Science. It is the storehouse whence must be drawn the materials for all Moral and Political Science, and it appeals to the imagination with all the vivid interest of drama on the grandest scale. But these are the pleasures and profit of the adept, not the tyro. It boots but little to commit to memory, the hard pedantic outlines of what *has been*, simply as a series of events that happened in a certain chronological sequence: to know for instance the names and order of the Roman Emperors, and which of them were the chief persecutors of the Christians, or to remember the dates of the Punic wars, and how many years the Long Parliament legislated. There are but the data of History treated as a Science,—data which must be familiar to the mind ere its reasoning faculties can be brought to bear on the study: yet they are in most cases all that the students of our



University ever master, or rather attempt to master, for their knowledge, when brought to the test of the Examination Hall, proves so inaccurate and fragmentary, that it is inconceivable that they should have treated History otherwise than a mere exercise of memory,—a disjointed skeleton of dry bones, the number and forms of which they know but imperfectly, while ignorant of their uses in the economy of the living animal.

In the University Calendar for the current year we find the following list of subjects of examination in History for the B. A. degree. 'India during the Hindu, Mahomedan, and British periods down to 1835. Greece to the death of Alexander. Rome to the death of Augustus. The Jews to the destruction of Jerusalem'; the text-books for these subjects being 'Murray's India, Schmitz's Greece and Rome, History of the Jews as in Taylor's Manual of Ancient History, Chapter 5, and Chapter 12, Section VII.' No philosophical treatise finds a place in the list; all such works as Taylor's Historical Evidence, Hallam's Constitutional History, and Guizot's History of Civilization being reserved for the examination in honours.

The undergraduate is thus furnished with the crude material; only in the exceptional case of his reading for the higher degree is he taught its use and purposes: the potter is furnished with a large store of varied clays, with his wheel and moulds; he is never taught how to fashion his ware. The graduate may tell you glibly enough of Baber and Aurungzebe, of Clive's defence of Arcot, of Wandiwash, Samiaveram, and Trichinopoly; with a certain scepticism of the facts he relates, he may even give you some account of Sampson's prowess, and David's pious self-humiliation in the matter of his census; but to what all these records may serve, except perhaps to the glorification of the Mahomedans, English, or Jews, he has on the whole no very clear conception. He has performed his task, and is content. Except for an occasional oratorical display at the Bethune Society, or a tag reference, more or less in point, for an article in the *Hindoo Patriot*, his acquirements are of no further service to him, and are wearily consigned to the limbo of things which have served their purpose.

We have adduced the B. A. curriculum in history, as affording a fair example of that tendency so common at the present day, to make education little more than an exercise for the memory, to the neglect of the higher faculties of the mind. Unfortunately the ratiocinative training that history is so capable of giving, does not to any appreciable extent follow on the study (as now pursued) of any other of the five subjects of examination. That of Language in its literary aspect, *i. e.*, with reference to its litera-

ture, and its subtler delicacies and distinctions of expression, affords work for the imagination and the æsthetic faculty, not for the reason; which in this field is first exercised when language is contemplated in its philologic relations, in which point of view it becomes simply phenomenal, and ranks with other inductive sciences: but in this point of view it is not treated, or but superficially treated in the University course, and indeed other branches of inductive Science are better fitted than Philology to exercise the mind in the processes of comparison, induction, deduction, and verification.

On the courses in Pure and Applied Mathematics we have but little to say; as laid down for the B. A. degree they deal with simple relations of number, space, and force, and are a necessary prelude to Physics, or the Sciences of the more complex phenomena of matter when we meet with force in its protean aspect, affecting our senses differently in such successive moment, thus eluding the grasp of mathematical demonstration, and forcing us to the *ultima ratio* of experiment to *prove*, so far as proof is possible, that which must be *assumed* in Pure Mechanics,—that Force and what we term Matter, (which is possibly a mere synonym for Force,) are indestructible.

Without any desire to criticise by implication the system pursued at the great English Universities, which in spite of the adverse opinion of many modern reformers, is, we think, better adapted to the English character, than the proposed German importation, which manufactures more *learned* than *wise* men, more *Gelehrte* than *Verständige*, we think the University has advantageously preferred and *applied* to a *pure* Mathematical Course. The native mind deals easily enough with mere symbols, but has to rouse itself to a considerable effort, to deal with quantity, as applied to force, &c. and to reason out problems, in which regard must be had to the *meaning* of a series of symbols, while submitting them to the strict logic of Mathematical analysis. We are informed by a gentleman engaged in this instruction in one of our chief Colleges, that the junior native students have the greatest difficulty in mastering this part of their course, a difficulty which is much enhanced doubtless by their imperfect acquaintance with the language in which they are taught, but which mainly arises from the constitution and habits of the native mind. Nothing can be a stronger proof of the value of applied mathematics as a mental training for the natives of India.

On Mental and Moral Philosophy we need at present say nothing, beyond what we have already remarked in our criticism of the Text-book System, and this;—that it might be

found advisable to omit the course on Mental Philosophy as a special subject, combining the Philosophy of Inductive Science (its most important division) with those Sciences which are its best illustration and exercise. Philosophical speculations are very consonant to all intelligent natives, but as in the case of Mathematics are only too apt to be regarded as simple abstractions, and somewhat wildly treated unless forced into application by external influences. This in the case of Morality must be the work of time; practical morality being like all other practice chiefly a matter of habit; as it is the most important of all teachings that we can impart to the natives of this country, so it must be of the slowest growth; the difference of our social habits and those of the natives keeps us so far apart, that we can do little more than instil the principles of Morality as a Science, and do our best to illustrate them practically by our own conduct in our dealings with them and each other. The seed thus planted must be left to grow by the strength of its own inherent vitality. It has done so elsewhere, and looking at its progress among those chiefly in contact with us, spite of the sarcasm of those superficial observers who would have all plants grow with the rapidity of Jonah's gourd, we think that India will in the end prove a not uncongenial soil. Our views may be thought Utopian, but if Ethics be, as we believe, a true Inductive Science, based on the Phenomena of Experience, we have sufficient faith in the power of truth to believe that it will eventually overcome the mass of prejudice and deficient perception at present arrayed against it, and in time even vanquish its more potent enemies, apathy and habit. We must only demand a considerable extension of the period Dr. Cumming has assigned for our labours.

For a practical application of Mental Philosophy nothing is better fitted than the Physical Sciences, and it is as an exercise of the ratiocinative faculties and the intellect, and not as a mass of experimental truths only or chiefly that these Sciences lay claim to a place in an University course. In the discussion which has been excited at home, by the proposition to introduce Natural Science more prominently into the curriculum of Cambridge, much ridicule has been thrown on the notion, that how to make a pump is a desirable part of the education of an English gentleman. With this view we entirely agree: it is not desirable. His time may be better employed than in studying the respective merits of the atmospheric and steam-engines as a specialty, but we consider that any man may profitably and usefully acquaint himself by practical study, with the modes of investigation which have been suc-



cessfully followed in the discovery of objective truth, and the kind of evidence upon which it rests. We doubt if Dr. Whewell's *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences* could be appreciated by one who had not read the previous work on the *History of those Sciences*, or who had not at least a fair knowledge elsewhere gained of the *Sciences themselves*; and this for the very patent reason, that the *Philosophy* as a contribution to *Mental Science* has been based on the *History*, to which it stands in the same relation, as the *Laws of Gravitation* do to observations and calculations of the *Heavenly bodies*.

Another common objection to the general study of *Inductive Science*, by those who admit the importance of *Induction* as a mental process is that the inductive faculty being one of advance to the unknown, is, like the inventive faculty, a gift, not an attainment, and that therefore it cannot be imparted by any teaching. We might perhaps demur even to this view of the matter, and while admitting that, like the æsthetic perceptions and faculties, it is the natural endowment of men in different degrees; we might urge that like these perceptions it may be trained and strengthened, and that this is to be effected by means similar to those successfully pursued in other branches of education. Certainly inductive reasoning is not a rarer gift than a poetic imagination and power of expression, yet those who argue most stoutly against the teaching of the former, will be the first to urge the necessity of the general cultivation of the latter by the study of classic and modern literature. But this would be a very partial and imperfect view of the matter. The inductive process is a universal phenomenon of mental action; and is practically performed by us in every hour of our lives, in so far as it consists in jumping from particulars to a general conclusion. That it is so is only not apparent because, in practical social life, almost every generalization is immediately followed by a deduction, and thus the first part of the process is lost sight of. The juryman who has to draw a conclusion from evidence, unconsciously supplies a major term to the syllogism by which he reasons out the bearing of the evidence on the guilt or innocence of the accused, and therein as truly exercises the inductive faculty, as does an Owen when he argues that a fossil skull must have been that of a Ruminant, because it bears a pair of horn-cores. The difference is, that the one has verified his induction in a very different degree to the other, and had the former not the advantage of the trained experience of the advocate and judge to guide him, it is not very difficult to conceive that he would make frequent grievous blunders on points of inference as well as of law, not because he has

not known how to draw a general inference from particular facts, or to deduce his verdict therefrom, but because he has omitted so to examine and test his generalization, as to render it admissible in the argument.

Paradoxical as it may seem to some, Induction is the least difficult and prominent part of the discovery of natural laws. That which distinguishes the great inductive philosopher, a Newton, a Lavoisier, or a Darwin, from men of ordinary intellect, is much less the power of suggesting a general law, than the rapidity and accuracy with which he traces its consequences, and his conscientiousness in rejecting it when any weak point occurs in its verification. This and the power of analysis, of distinguishing the partial and independent facts of which any observed phenomenon is made up, are the chief characteristics of the so-called inductive mind. Now these processes are eminently susceptible of cultivation. Art can never supersede Nature here or elsewhere, but as any well-trained Artist learns by experience to detect at a glance a false proportion, or an unnatural curve, which would escape the notice of a tyro; so the man who is practised in the employment of the processes of ratiocination or analysis of fact acquires skill in detecting the weak point in a statement of supposed fact or inference from evidence, whatever be the matter upon which he has to judge. Large acquaintance with fact on the particular subject contemplated is of course necessary to enable him to exercise his power to any eminent degree, but the process is the same whether the matter considered is a phenomenon of physical science, or a legal enquiry.

Another faculty not less important to the man of the world is that of observation, of noticing rapidly and accurately the important points of an object or an event. This too may be trained to a considerable extent by the study of physical and natural science; but the experience gained is more special in kind, and therefore comparatively less valuable than the education of the reasoning faculties, because the value of an observation depends in great measure on the previous acquaintance of the observer with its subject-matter. It is in the main a rapid process of comparison and selection,—comparison with what is known, and selection for special record of that which is new or important. Still the experience is valuable, and the student may be at all events taught by habit, to guard against that chief stumbling block of the uninstructed, the failure to distinguish what is seen, and what is assumed or inferred.

We have already spoken of the value of all studies in Natural Science conscientiously pursued, in warning us against prejudice,

and making us wary of its insidious hold upon us. This office is performed to a great, perhaps an equal extent by other kinds of study, and we have adduced that of history as a prominent case in point. But alas! history itself abounds with prejudice! We can but look at the facts of the past through the media of other minds, and we must employ the judicial process to sift our evidence from its subjective error, before we can commence the treatment of its data as a Science. No human record, whether of history or of Natural Phenomena, is free from the possibility or even the probability of subjective error, and we have in the annals of Science almost as much bitter controversy and partisanship, although in a narrower field, as in the stormy arena of Political and Theological History. But in the former the phenomena themselves, the unfailing tribunal of appeal, are ever at our command. Only in rare cases, as in Astronomical observation, have we to deal with that which we cannot for ourselves examine. We are therefore more unshackled in our judgments, less influenced by the reflected feelings, the prejudices, prepossessions, and errors of others, and we can more accurately and impartially detect and judge the mental influences which marred the work of our predecessors. The past and present history of Science are instructive to all, not so much for the facts gained, as for the process by which they have been gained; for the great practical teaching of philosophy which they afford, and of which they are at once the basis and the test.

Such being as we conceive the aims and functions of Natural Science as a branch of Education, it remains to discuss the mode of teaching; how to make it a real training and exercise for the intellect. Dr. Whewell writes on this head:—‘I should say ‘that one obvious mode of effecting this discipline of the mind ‘in induction is, the exact and solid study of some portion of ‘inductive science. I do not mean the mechanical Sciences alone, ‘Physical Astronomy and the like; though these undoubtedly ‘have a prerogative value as the instruments of such a cul- ‘ture; but the like effect will be promoted by the exact and ‘solid study of any portion of the circle of natural sciences;— ‘Botany, Comparative Anatomy, Geology, Chemistry, for in- ‘stance. But I say the *exact* and *solid* knowledge; not a mere ‘verbal knowledge, but a knowledge which is real in character, ‘though it may be elementary and limited in its extent. The ‘knowledge of which I speak must be a knowledge of things, ‘and not merely of names of things; an acquaintance with ‘the operations and productions of nature, as they appear to the ‘eye, not merely an acquaintance with what has been said about ‘them; a knowledge of the laws of nature, seen in special



‘experiments and observations, before they are conceived in general terms; a knowledge of the types of natural forms, gathered from individual cases already made familiar. By such study of one or more departments of inductive knowledge, the mind may escape from the thralldom and illusion which reigns in the world of mere words.’

It can scarcely be disputed that the instruction hitherto given in the Natural and Physical Science portion of the University course has been little better than that here condemned by Dr. Whewell, a teaching of mere words, and such it still remains in the majority of the affiliated Colleges. If it be a necessity of their position that the system of text-book teaching in these subjects, without illustrative specimens or experiments, be continued, it would certainly be better to sweep the whole of the Natural Sciences from the compulsory curriculum of the University and make all optional, whether for the B. A. degree or Honours: we do not think however that this is *necessary*, and we opine that with moderation in the extent of our aims we may retain certain portions of Natural Science as an essential and valuable element of native education.

One branch of Inductive Science well and thoroughly taught, is in our view infinitely preferable to that vague smattering of three or four which was until lately the only possible result of our University system. The selection must in most cases be determined by local and adventitious circumstances, but we conceive that, among the stipulated conditions to be fulfilled by Colleges applying for affiliation, should be included the possession of means to teach one branch of Natural or Physical Science thoroughly and practically, up to a standard equal to that of other branches of the course. To facilitate this, it would, we think, be desirable somewhat to extend the list of optional subjects in Natural and Physical Science. These are at present four in number, *viz.* 1, Optics, with which is allied the Geometry of Conic Sections, as a sort of foreign make-weight; 2, Chemistry, Electricity, and Thermotics; 3, Animal Physiology and Zoology; and 4, Physical Geography and Geology. To these we would add 5, Botanical Physiology and Botany. With such a list to choose from, we conceive that no Educational Institution, fitted to give an University education, can find much difficulty in fulfilling the conditions of affiliation. The conditions would be two-fold, to provide *firstly*, proper teaching; and *secondly*, the subject matter of the study, by specimens or apparatus. Much is said of the difficulty of the first, and doubtless the plea would have been to some extent valid a few years since, when the Inductive Sciences remained unrecognised in the great English Universities, so that there might

have been some difficulty in procuring teachers of liberal education who had any knowledge of any branch of Science. This is however no longer the case. At Oxford and Cambridge for some years past, and at the London University since its establishment, the importance of the Natural Sciences has been fully recognised, and the pupils of Phillips, Sedgwick, Henslow, Willis, Daubeny, and Miller, not to speak of the graduates of the London, Scottish, and Irish Universities, and those who have studied at German Universities, are now sufficiently numerous, to make it a not very difficult task to procure men of philosophical attainments fitted to teach one at least of the sciences of the above list, and capable of taking part to a certain extent in other branches of instruction where required to do so. Of course we presuppose that the Principals of the affiliated Colleges have a *desire* to include these subjects in their course, and to teach them honestly and efficiently. Still, it is undeniable that the Instructive staff in Natural Science has been and is far less efficient than that of other subjects. In a report of the sub-committee\* of the Syndicate dated February 1862, we read :—

‘The Institution which from its ample resources has the  
‘best means of instructing in this subject [Physical Science,]  
‘is the Presidency College. But even there no professorship  
‘has been established solely for the purpose. There is a chair  
‘of Geology, which however has not been occupied for the  
‘first two years. Lectures in other branches of Physical Science  
‘are, we believe, given by the Professor of Natural Philosophy :—  
‘an arrangement which should only be accepted as a last necessity;  
‘as these two subjects are so different and extensive, that to ask  
‘a single Professor to take charge of both is requiring more than  
‘any man should be asked to undertake. Such then is the mode  
‘of instruction, in Physical Science, in the most highly endowed  
‘of the Affiliated Institutions. In some of the others we  
‘may say that it is not even attempted to be efficiently  
‘taught. The consequence is that the subject, which has very  
‘properly been made by the Senate a compulsory part of the  
‘B. A. course, is often left to the undirected resources of the  
‘students themselves. In fact, they are left very much to the  
‘text-books, with few or none of those aids, in the way of ex-  
‘perimental lectures, which are considered in other countries to  
‘be essential to a proper understanding of the subject.’ The  
state of things described in this report is still almost unchanged.  
The chair so long vacant in the Presidency College is indeed  
now filled, and the branches of Natural Science which its holder

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\* Consisting of Dr. Duff and the late Mr. Scott Smith.

feels himself competent to teach have been wisely defined in the University Calendar by Syllabus instead of by text-book; wisely we may, because we believe the optional and alternative arrangement of these subjects now adopted, leaves him the only teacher who is likely to undertake experimental Physics or Geology, and the adoption of a Syllabus emancipates him from the thralldom of rudimentary treatises, while it does not affect the Professorial staff of the other affiliated Colleges. Zoology with Animal Physiology is still a destitute wanderer, and is likely to remain so until, in the fulness of time, a University Professorship may be established; while Optics, the subject allied with Conic Sections geometrically treated, under the queer cognomen of 'Mathematics, pure and mixed,' is also defined by a Syllabus, but one which being adapted to the capabilities of the minor Colleges, does not include much that is necessarily experimental, and does not therefore necessarily fulfil that which we, following Dr. Whewell, regard as an essential, a practical teaching in the phenomena of *things*, as opposed to an analysis or synthesis of the words which represent them, the camel itself in its native desert, and not its imago developed from the moral consciousness.

Moved by the destitution of the Colleges in all matters of Natural Science, Mr. Oldham, in 1862, suggested a substitute for the vacant chair of Geology at the Presidency College, by making the Geological Survey the centre or nucleus of a School of Applied Science. It was proposed to transfer this Professorship to the University, and then to divide its emoluments among different gentlemen of the Survey who should be recommended by Mr. Oldham for Professorships in the different branches of Physical Science, they being afforded sufficient leisure to discharge the duties thereof. Thus, it was thought, *no additional expense* would be entailed on Government, while the Professorship would be placed on a wider and more useful basis.

There was doubtless much apparent advantage in this scheme. The two years' vacancy of the single existing Professorship in Physical Science seemed to render it probable that its re-occupation by a qualified Professor, was distant if not hopeless; while it is unquestionable that, among the gentlemen engaged on the Geological Survey, there are some fully qualified to teach both Geology, and several of the Sciences with which it is closely allied, and on which indeed it rests. The bait of cheapness too, of getting two pounds of labour at the cost of one, was tempting, for much as we may ridicule women for their love of bargains, we have found in our own experience, that corporate bodies of the ruder sex, even the paternal wisdom of Government itself, is not at all times proof against the allurements of a low price, in defiance of



the well known teachings of Political Economy. Doubtless the proposed substitute would have been better than nothing, and so, apparently, thought the Sub-Committee from whose report we have above quoted. Nay, we believe that even now, a modification of Mr. Oldham's scheme might be advantageously adopted, not indeed as a substitute for College teaching, but as a supplementary measure, and with a view to giving the students means of fuller instruction than it is possible for one man to give, whose attention is divided between two or more very distinct subjects. It is a lamentable sacrifice of available means that highly educated men of Science, having, as we presume from the nature and source of the proposition above quoted, time at their disposal, or which they might easily spare, and (in one case at least we know) trained in class teaching, should not be invited to give their aid in the Educational system of the country, when they possess in a high degree the qualifications, which it would appear, are so difficult to be obtained elsewhere. But as a *substitute* for the College chair the scheme was undoubtedly unadvisable: the professors of the Government Colleges have to act much as the College tutors of Cambridge, to work up their class, not merely by lectures, but by class teaching and frequent examination, and indeed with students unprepared by class teaching elsewhere, this is a most essential part of the process of instruction. They are accessible to their students at times other than those of class hours, and are always at hand and ready to give them explanation and assistance in any difficulty. But this requires the devotion of an amount of time and attention which could scarcely be given by gentlemen having other important duties to perform, and who would probably only be able in any case to give a few hours a week to their class during five or six months of the year; nor could they in any case be expected to feel that personal interest in the progress of their classes which can only be gained by frequent intercourse with the students and familiar personal knowledge of them. We do not think that these disadvantages would have been compensated by the greater variety of the instruction, however desirable the latter might be, if superadded to College teaching.

The objections we have above urged would appear at first sight to lie in some, though in a less, degree to the subsequent recommendation of the Syndicate embodied in a letter to the Government of India in June 1862, but which we believe has hitherto met with no reply; at least none appears on the published Minutes of the University, and certainly no action has hitherto been taken in the matter. They premise 'that the foundation of Lectureships or Professorships in relation with the

‘ University, though not under its direction, for the benefit on  
‘ equal terms of the Students of all Colleges and Institutions,  
‘ and of individuals, is an object in itself desirable ;’ that ‘ so  
‘ long as any Professors thus appointed, are supported by grants  
‘ of money from the State, it will obviously be proper that the  
‘ direction of those Professorships should remain in the hands  
‘ of Government,’ and finally the Syndicate endorse the recom-  
mendation of the Senate, that a chair of Natural and Experimental  
Philosophy be founded by Government, leaving it to the Go-  
vernment to determine, under what regulations the instruc-  
tion to be given by the Professors may most usefully be carried  
on.

The proposition thus put forward is essentially to the effect  
that the instruction of the proposed chair be open to the students  
of all the Colleges instead of those of one only. So far the  
change may be desirable ; and if the instruction conveyed be of  
the same nature as that given in the Colleges, the only objection  
to be urged against the change, would be the difficulty which  
the students of different and widely scattered Colleges would find  
in availing themselves of the class instruction of a single  
Professor. This might possibly be arranged by the choice of  
some central building for the meetings of the class ; but we  
would strongly deprecate any attempt to assimilate the teaching  
to that of the English University Professors ; to restrict the  
instruction to lectures, until the Colleges shall be better  
provided with the counterparts of the Cambridge tutors,  
whose instruction, desirable in all cases, is especially so for  
the native students of Indian Universities. The value of College  
lectures and their peculiar characteristics are remarked on by  
Dr. Whewell as follows :—‘ Although in College Lectures, the  
‘ views may often be as comprehensive and profound, and the  
‘ learning as extensive, as are found in the Lectures of Professors  
‘ in other Universities, it has been the practice in recent dis-  
‘ cussions on this subject to distinguish between College Lectures  
‘ and Professorial Lectures ; and the distinction is an important one,  
‘ if it be understood as implying that, in Professorial Lectures,  
‘ the student is a listener only, and is not called upon to show, by  
‘ taking any part in the lecture, that he is a prepared listener. The  
‘ distinction being thus understood, if we enquire whether College  
‘ Lectures should be superseded by Professorial Lectures in our  
‘ University, we cannot hesitate to reply, that such a change  
‘ would be a grievous damage to English Education. Without  
‘ at all denying the value of Professorial Lectures for their own  
‘ particular purposes, (and for these purposes they are largely  
‘ delivered and attended in the English Universities), such Lectures

‘ cannot take the place of College lectures, so as to produce their  
‘ beneficial effects. These effects are \* \* \* the hold which studies  
‘ so pursued obtain upon the student’s mind and character, in  
‘ virtue of their forming part of a daily employment, which brings  
‘ him into intercourse with his tutor and his fellow-students,  
‘ placing before them a common subject of mental activity, dis-  
‘ closing to him their characters, instructing him both by their  
‘ mistakes and their knowledge, and impelling him to study by the  
‘ necessity of being constantly ready with his own share of the  
‘ work. In Professorial lectures, on the other hand, the student  
‘ is supposed to be induced to listen to the Lecture by the solid  
‘ reasoning, extensive learning, new views or peculiar eloquence of  
‘ the Professor; who follows out his speculations, unfettered by  
‘ the necessity of connecting his exposition with the imperfect  
‘ learning of his hearers.’ The above remarks of the Master of Tri-  
nity have especial reference to his own University, but we believe  
they apply with even greater force to the Universities of India.  
In proportion as the students are unprepared by previous training,  
so is the class system more essential, and it will scarcely be  
contended by those who have any practical acquaintance with  
the recently matriculated undergraduates of our Colleges, that  
they present themselves with anything approaching the aver-  
age preparation of their prototypes of Oxford or Cambridge.  
Generally speaking, their knowledge even of the language in  
which they are taught is most imperfect, and only in the second  
or third year of their course do they obtain that acquaintance  
with it, that would enable them to understand without difficulty  
the mere phraseology of the lecturer. They are in much the  
position in which the undergraduates of Cambridge would be,  
were all lectures in Mathematics, Theology, or Natural Science  
delivered in Greek.

It appears then that whether University Professorships be  
established or not, class teaching is indispensable, and this fact  
recognised, it becomes a matter for the consideration of Govern-  
ment, whether any of the Professorships established by it for  
the benefit of the Presidency College students, should be render-  
ed equally available to other Colleges. If this can be done with-  
out inconvenience to the *alumni* of that College, it is desir-  
able. If not, things had better remain as they are, and other  
Colleges should be required by the University and empowered by  
Government or their governing bodies, to provide efficient teach-  
ing in some one branch at least of Natural Science.

And this brings us back to the consideration of what are the  
real obstacles to the attainment of this end. We cannot believe,  
for the reasons we have given, that liberally educated men,



acquainted with Science, do not exist in numbers sufficient to supply all the wants of India ; we hold that the real difficulty is a much simpler one and easier to deal with ; it is subjective not objective. In point of fact it is not only in Natural Science Education that this difficulty presents itself. It is one which pervades many departments of Government at the present moment, and in none is it more prominently met with than in that of Education. We see some of the newly arrived Professors, qualified in every way for their work, throwing it up in disappointment, and returning whence they came, even to the hard struggle of English life, at the sacrifice of one or two years' labour, rather than remain in a career where all is a dead level, unhopeful and unremunerative. The older men are gradually dropping off, and indeed retire as soon as they have earned the pitiful pension, which is all they have to look forward to in life. New men come out but rarely to supply their places, and the Principals of our chief Colleges hunt about with jackal-like eagerness, (we trust they will eliminate everything derogatory in the comparison,) to pick up any stray men to be found in the country, to fill the vacancies on their staff. Even these can only be retained for a brief period ; after a longer or shorter stay they find something that pays them better, with less drudgery, and once more the old hunt has to be gone through. We cannot feel very much surprised at this. It may not perhaps have struck those responsible in the matter, that any man fitted to undertake a Professorship in an Indian College, must be at least capable of passing the not very difficult competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Service, and that having regard to the respective emoluments of the services, he will probably select the latter : but such will, we think, generally be the case. Life in India is not generally regarded by candidates for Indian service in the light of a pleasureable jaunt, but rather a journey of serious business, and they will probably prefer a first class express to a parliamentary third, when both tickets are presented to them freely for their choice. If older and more experienced men than the candidates for the competitive examinations are required, —College fellows for instance,—we fail to see what peculiar attraction should induce such men to give up their standing, associations, and *parvum modicum* at home, for a bare pecuniary equivalent of the latter in India, and the toil and weariness of an Educational life under a tropical sun ; to begin life again with advantages very inferior to those which they declined at an earlier period of their career. The Indian Government is at present in the Education department the *chiffonier* of English talent. We suppose it finds the system answer its purpose, but it must not be

surprised that it does not always obtain what it wants on the instant. It will not bid in the open market at market rates. It is trying to do that which is impracticable, because it will not recognise the laws of Economic Science. It wishes philanthropically to establish high-class education in India, but will not pay for men who are capable of the work. It passes large and telling Education votes, and gets great *Kudos* for its enlightenment and liberality, but it declines to sanction the details of their expenditure, and so an unexpended balance is carried forward to another year, and once more helps to make a good appearance in the Budget.

Such is the simple story of the difficulties of the Education department; and we must confess we regard them with little sympathy. They are only more manifest in the case of Natural Science, because Natural Science studies are still exceptional in the English Universities: men qualified in them are relatively, not absolutely, few in number; and the failure to obtain qualified Professors of any kind in proportion to the demand, is only exaggerated when we come to deal with the particular case of diminished supply. Let the Educational department be paid at rates equal in comparison to the work done to those of the Legal and Judicial portion of the Uncovenanted Service. Let the rules for pension be so far modified as to allow a man to retire after fifteen or twenty years with the means of living decently and educating his children, and we shall hear no more of the impracticability of procuring qualified men for Indian Professorships whether in Natural Science, Philology, or Mathematics.

The fulfilment of the second condition of efficient teaching in Natural Science, the provision of illustrations or of the subject matter of Science, is likewise a much easier matter than may at first sight appear. In the Report of the Sub-Committee of the Syndicate in 1862, this matter is commented on as follows:—‘It will be apparent that proper instruction cannot be given in Physical Science, unless the lecturer has at hand Apparatus, Chemicals, and Specimens for illustrating his lectures. But these in India are costly, scarce, and except in one or two instances not to be had at the affiliated Institutions. In fact, these Institutions could scarcely be expected to keep a suitable supply of articles so expensive and so difficult of preservation. They would only be required for the more advanced students, or those of the last year, a class which in all Colleges and Institutions must always be comparatively small in number. Moreover they would be superfluous, unless one of the teachers, connected with the Institution, understood well how to use them, a contingency which, we may observe, is not

'likely always to occur, as these persons are usually engaged for 'general branches of education, and are not likely to have acquired 'much knowledge of a subject which in a peculiar degree, requires 'the entire attention of those who hope to make progress in it.'

We may fairly concede that unless there is some one capable of teaching, it would be of little use to provide the materials of the subject to be taught, and so long as the independent Colleges are unable and the Government unwilling to pay for educated men to teach, it is useless to take any other steps to provide native students with the other means of learning something of Natural Science. In fact, it is useless to discuss the matter. We must assume that if Education is to be given, money must be spent, otherwise the incorporation of University bodies, and the importation of all the verbal paraphernalia of Colleges, Professors, degrees, &c. is a pretentious sham, the hollowness of which it is best at once to recognise. If the affiliated Colleges are only able to engage men of the rank of National Schoolmasters for their instructive staff, men who are required to have a smattering of everything and a special knowledge of nothing, better sweep away the pretence of our system, and call it what it is—a useful system doubtless, but not up to the mark of giving a University, *i. e.*, a liberal education.

The rules of affiliation demand that provision be made for the instruction of the students up to the standard under which it is desired to be affiliated. If this be not done, (and it appears not to have been done,) we are at a loss to understand why the Colleges should have been affiliated, or why, on the other hand, if the standard be really above that which it is reasonable to expect of Colleges which are still equal to giving a liberal education, the standard itself has not been altered to meet the local conditions. But the University after much consideration has arrived at the conclusion, that instruction in some one branch of Natural Science is *essential* to high-class education of the natives. This being recognised, the means should be found, or we should not pretend to high-class education. The alternative is simple: we can scarcely understand why it has not been stated long ere this for the consideration of a liberal and philanthropic Government.

The real fact is that the majority of the Colleges are *not* up to the liberal education standard as fixed by the University. Most of them have two or three competent tutors or teachers on their staff, but two or three are not capable of instructing thoroughly in the variety of subjects which the B. A. course demands. Let the University decide whether more restricted standards than those it has adopted are compatible with the mean-



ing of liberal education as implied by the B. A. degree,\* and if it decide in the negative, let it adopt the bold alternative of withdrawing from the minor Colleges the privilege of affiliation which has been too hastily conferred.

On the supposition that Science is to be taught, and that a competent Professor be provided to teach it, the provision of illustrations of its subject matter is, as we believe, not surrounded by many difficulties. The observations of the Sub-Committee's report evidently contemplate one class of Natural Sciences only, *viz.*, the Experimental as distinguished from the Descriptive, and they are undoubtedly valid if Chemistry and Physics alone be considered. But even in Physics, there are certain branches well fitted for education, in which the apparatus, once provided, requires but ordinary care for its preservation, and entails no material expense in use. Light is amply supplied without cost by an Indian sun, and its analysis is an inexpensive operation, requiring at the utmost a little Quinine, or something equally simple. But although we hold that no real training in Science as an *end* can be given, without a broad foundation of Physics; and although as a *means* of Education, the Experimental Sciences are preferable to all others where they can be properly taught, an advantage due to their precision, and method of stern appeal to weight and measure, as well as to the fact of their dealing with force and matter in their universal phases; still those which Dr. Whewell terms the Classificatory Sciences, Botany and

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\* In 1860, Mr. Reid, the Director of Public Instruction, North-West Provinces, urged on the Syndicate, the impossibility on the part of the majority of the Undergraduate Students, of preparing *thoroughly* all the prescribed subjects, and suggested that their courses should be specified for the optional selection of the Students. These were:—

1st Course.—English Literature, Mathematics, Ancient History, History of England and of India.

2nd Course.—English Literature, Mathematics, History, Mental and Moral Philosophy, and Economic Science.

3rd Course.—English Literature, Mathematics, History, Physical Sciences, and Economic Science.

And he remarked that a searching examination, in any one of the three courses, would entitle the successful candidate to rank among those who are held to have received a liberal education. He showed at the same time that the present standards are far in advance of those required of the 'Poll' examinees at Cambridge, or for the 'Pass' or ordinary B. A. of Oxford.

With the general tenor of Mr. Reid's representations we entirely coincide. The courses he has specified are not we think equal, but the main object of his proposed reform, the attempt to substitute efficiency in a few subjects for a smattering of many, has our most cordial assent. We are writing on Science, and we deem the study of Natural Science a very important part of liberal education, but we should be far from regarding it as a *sine quâ non*.

Zoology, are fitted to teach many an useful lesson, if they be not perverted in their methods to be made mere tags of moral illustration. Of the two, Botany has the great recommendation of simplicity, and of its materials being found everywhere in abundance; in sufficient variety at all events to serve for every purpose of illustration in the hands of a man who knows his subject. A garden with a *mali* or two will supply specimens enough to hand, and the apparatus required is but a few lenses and microscopes, (not necessarily costly articles at the present day,) with a certain number of diagrams. These are not requirements of so costly a character that Collegiate Institutions need shrink from providing them; nor are they such as render the proximity of skilled mechanics indispensable. There is but little difficulty here teaching Natural Science when entrusted to those who understand it. The 'Philisterei' of Indian officialism is the only real obstacle.

In truth the difficulties of high-class education are those of our own making. The Egyptians wanted bricks made without straw, and have become proverbial for their folly. The Indian Government, or whoever the responsible authority in this matter may be, goes a step further and wants its bricks made not only without straw but without brickmakers. There is the clay to be moulded; that it will provide in superfluity, but moulds and moulders it calls upon Providence to supply, and thinks it strange that they do not present themselves at the call. It contemplates great things in a hazy way; and looks for great results; but it hesitates to provide the means of their accomplishment or to ensure that the means are competent to the end. It is on the whole a well-meaning Government, but not a very wise one; and it is very fearful of spending its money on what it feels, but will not acknowledge that it does not quite understand. It employs a great many hands; we know not how many hundreds of doctors, engineers, financiers, and others, all learned men, and bearing on their brows the honourable wrinkles of many a well-fought examination. Cannot some of them improvise themselves into Professors? They used to turn their hand to any thing in the old times: and why should they be less versatile now? It cannot understand why all intellectual pursuits should have become specialized, so that a Pathologist should be incapable of making a Topographical Survey, or a Chemist unequal to taking charge of a Hospital, and it holds as monstrous unreason that the services of men who restrict themselves to a single special pursuit should command as high a market price, as those of the men of facile genius who will with equal readiness direct the operations of an army,

preside in a court of appeal, settle a system of revenue, or pronounce on a sanitary system.

For our own part, we are not sure that we have not been rather premature in setting up the *forms* of a University system in India, before we have the means of working it, and were we less isolated from the interests and sympathies of civilized countries, our pretentiousness would probably afford food for considerable ridicule to our neighbours. Being committed to the system, it remains but to exert ourselves to understand its needs and to carry it out honestly and thoroughly; but to do this, we must place the executive as well as the administrative departments of the work in the hands of the best men procurable. It is to the higher officers of the Education department that is entrusted the moulding of the next generation of the leading classes of natives, and according as they are hack-labourers, or men fitted for intellectual leadership, will be the result. Hitherto we cannot think our experiment has been very successful. The most successful branch of Education has unquestionably been that which is at once the most practical in character, the most thorough in degree, and the most highly paid in its staff. Among the graduates of the Medical College, are the best specimens yet produced of the influence of European teaching on the native mind. Let the general Education be entrusted to men equally carefully selected for their work, offer them equal inducements and means, and we cannot doubt that the returns will amply justify the cost.

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## SHORT NOTICES.

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*A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese and Province of Calcutta at the second Diocesan, and first Metropolitan Visitation of G. E. L. Cotton, D. D., Bishop of Calcutta ; Metropolitan in India and Ceylon. Calcutta. 1863.*

THE subjects treated of in the charge of the Metropolitan of India to his clergy may, by some, be thought foreign to the scope and object of a secular Review. Yet those who will glance even cursorily at Bishop Cotton's last elaborate manifesto, must admit that he has skilfully handled several points which ought not to fail in interesting all those who are really concerned for the mere moral and social advancement of many classes in India, Europeans and Eurasians, Mohammedans and Hindus. The charge is divided into three main heads. The first treats of the hopes, perils, and duties of the Church in India ; the second part discusses the hopes, perils, and duties of the Church of England ; and the third, similarly, enters on the hopes, perils, and duties of the *Catholic* Church. Besides this, there is a preface of sixteen pages, and, with a praiseworthy regard for facts and statistics, the Bishop has added to his charge a series of appendices illustrative of several important points touched on in the body of the work, which appendices would have done credit to a Chief Commissioner's report. We say this deliberately, and with no desire to weaken or impair the dignity of a sacred office by worldly comparisons. But, in India, we are so accustomed to measure things by a purely official standard of criticism, that we can find no better way of adequately describing a charge addressed to a large body of clergymen, than by comparing the same, for lucidity and practical objects, to an 'annual report'; to one, at least written anywhere out of the Punjab, and not besmeared with the rancid ghee and butter, which mark the adulatory addresses of writers bred up on the banks of the Five Rivers.

In the preface only, the Lord Bishop raises a question which by some may be deemed the most important of all the topics on which he has touched. It is this. Does the Diocese of Calcutta, extending over thirty-three degrees of latitude and sixteen degrees of longitude, require the creation of a fifth Bishopric ? And after discussing this subject with reference to the actual extent of ground to be got over on visitations, to the increased facilities for locomotion, and to the actual numbers of the clergy resident within his diocese, Bishop Cotton presents us with two alternatives ; the creation, by the Government, of a new Bishopric for Lahore and Sinde, or of one at Rangoon for British Burmah and the Straits Settlements. In the latter case Bishop Cotton proposes that the

new Bishop should be paid partly by Government, in the shape of a residence and the full salary of a chaplain, and partly by private munificence. From the latter plan, for the very reason just given, we altogether dissent. Private liberality has quite enough of objects of expenditure at present in India, and we do not think that a Bishop, remunerated by little more than twice the salary of a full chaplain, would ever be considered equal in dignity and position to his brethren at the other Presidencies of India. This may be a very carnal and low estimate of the position and utility of an Indian Bishop, but, in this country, we are all apt to value position by a reference to salary, and even to the source whence that salary is defrayed, and, as Lord Dalhousie remarked long ago with reference to the very race amongst whom this new Bishop is to be planted, 'forms are things 'with these orientals,' and are not to be despised. For our own part we much prefer the plan of a new Bishop of Lahore, with a suitable residence at Mean Meer, and with the power of spending an occasional hot season at Murree. But while we dissent from the proposal for a new Burmese Bishop, to be remunerated partly from the Treasury, and partly from the over-taxed liberality of a changing and uncertain community, we wholly endorse Bishop Cotton's objections to the plan of having certain new functionaries, termed Missionary Bishops, who should have 'jurisdiction over native Christians only.' Such a proposal could have emanated from none but some society or knot of individuals at home, wholly ignorant of the practical working of Christian Missions in the East. There is already too little sympathy between old Christians and new converts, and too much of the distinction of race and blood, which we find it so hard to contend with in dealing with other social and administrative evils. Let not these difficulties be increased by any plan which would introduce the most marked and fatal distinction of any, the distinction of religious functions and services, and, perhaps, eventually of actual creeds.

It is not our object to review Bishop Cotton's admirable charge in detail. The first portion must, however, commend itself to many a hard-working magistrate and collector or commissioner, who cares solely for the social and secular advancement of India, and has no time to devote to a close study of the questions raised by the celebrated judgment of the Privy Council on *Essays and Reviews*. The temper of Europeans towards natives since the mutiny : the position, temptations, and duties of officers of the large British force now holding India : the perils to which the common soldier is exposed from heat, idleness, and drink : the duties of clergymen towards the increasing body of Europeans of the middle class, who are now engaged by Railway, Tea, and other Companies : the prospects held out by the spread of education amongst the higher and wealthier natives of Bengal : the necessity for female enlightenment and instruction : the education of the masses : the apathy and bigotry of the Mahomedan portion of the community : all these and several other vital questions are lightly touched or are treated with a breadth and

earnestness which must commend them to the consideration of numerous official and unofficial men, who are wearing themselves out in the hope of leaving their own little private mark on some one of the numerous projects by which natives and Europeans are to be in some way elevated and improved.

On the delicate topics raised in the second and third portions of the charge we cannot write. But we may say briefly that our readers will find the tremendous subjects which the late religious discussions have brought vividly and permanently forward, there handled in a spirit of reverence and earnestness, and at the same time with a fearlessness, a breadth of view, a tolerance, and a charity, the like of which, in these exciting days, is not often found in the writings of leaders on either side of the great controversy. It is quite clear to us that the Bishop is not one of those who sees peril in 'honest doubts,' or apprehends danger to revelation from the enquiring spirit of biblical criticism, from the researches of science, or from the progress of Oriental learning. We earnestly commend the charge to the notice of Indian readers. It will help them to a solution of difficulties which some of them have already felt; and it may throw old objects of enquiry into new, suggestive, and unexpected shapes. And we may conclude by saying that, like all Bishop Cotton's writings, the charge is expressed in luminous and classical English, that it is happily illustrated with stores of learning untinged by pedantry, and that it occasionally rises into real eloquence of an elevating and ennobling kind, worthy of the great subjects which it purports to expound.

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*Bengal Ryots ; their Rights and Liabilities, being an Elementary Treatise on the Law of Landlord and Tenant.* By Sunjeeb Chunder Chatterjee. Calcutta : 1864. D'Rozario and Co.

THIS unpretending little book is a valuable addition to our literature upon the important subject on which it treats.

There are, says the author in his preface, many 'valuable treatises on the Law of Landlord and Tenant in Bengal, but while giving ample details of the procedure, it was not within the scope of any of them to refer to the principles which have guided legislation on the subject, or the historic changes which have, in process of time, revolutionised the legal and social relation between two of the most important sections of the community.....The object of this compilation is, while avoiding procedure as much as possible, to state the Substantive Law, illustrated by the history of Legislation, and the principles which guided it.'

This extract sufficiently indicates the design of the work, and the spirit in which the author deals with the subject.

His aim is, on the one hand, to elucidate, by an historical summary, the relative rights of Zemindars and Ryots, as they originally stood, and as they have been affected especially by the course of legislation during the British Rule in India; and, on the other, to state,



in a compendious shape, the laws which now regulate their relations. This latter part of the work, though complete and, except in some particulars, accurate, is little more than a mere *précis* of Act X. of 1859 and Act VI. of 1852 (B. C.) and is, in itself, of no great value. The historical portion, however, displays a very creditable amount of research, and a considerable, though perhaps rather a theoretical than practical, acquaintance with the subject. We are not aware that the information collected together in this part of the work is accessible anywhere in the same succinct and connected shape. It has been compiled evidently with praiseworthy care and industry, and should secure for the book a place upon the shelves of all who are interested in the important questions discussed.

The spirit in which this historical review is conducted is honourable to the author. The tendency among the educated and higher classes in this country is too commonly to worship the powerful and the wealthy ; or if, in exceptional cases, a tone seemingly the opposite of this is found, it too often bears the marks of unreality, or pseudo-liberality. The work before us has neither of these faults ; it is written in a candid and ingenuous spirit ; and is apparently a genuine and patriotic effort to defend the cause of the weak against the strong.

We do not pretend to affirm that the author is absolutely impartial ; —that he says all that could be said on the side of those who advocate the theory that the rights of a Bengali Zemindar are those of an English landlord over his own land ; but that is not his object. He has a conviction, which we share with him, that the ryots of Bengal have or had rights in the soil very different from those possessed even by the Cottier tenants of Ireland, and he sets forth, in a long and connected array of authorities, the grounds of this conviction. We think, ourselves, that he does establish, beyond question, that the gift by Lord Cornwallis, in 1793, to the Zemindars of Bengal, of the proprietary rights in their Zemindaries, was by no means an absolute gift, still less, as pretended by the Indigo Planters' Association in their recent address to the Government of Bengal, a concession in return for good consideration received ; but that it was accompanied, not only by a reservation of the right of the Government to pass any laws that might seem necessary for the protection of the ryots, but by a pledge to this most important class, so deeply interested in this alleged contract between the Government and the Zemindars, that their rights and interests should be cared for and protected. Upon this point indeed the reservation clauses of Regulation I. of 1793 (Section 8) so conveniently forgotten by those who argue for the absolute rights of the Zemindars, must be considered decisive. The author further shows that through the changing policy of the successive Governments of India the intention to redeem this pledge was ever kept in view though never realised. There cannot, we think, be a doubt in the mind of any one who impartially studies the subject, that, in enacting Act X. of 1859, the Government not only transgressed no rights of the Zemindars, but did no more than attempt, if it were possible, to fulfil a definite pledge that had been

left far too long unredeemed. We are not now discussing the question whether the prosperity of a country is best promoted by a division of the rights in the soil between the landlords and the under-tenants. We are by no means sure, notwithstanding much argument in this book and elsewhere to the contrary, that, in the long run, the happiness even of the ryots of Bengal would be advanced by such a division, which cannot but tend to diminish the value of land, and discourage the application of capital to its improvement. It will be well for the ryots if these doubts of ours are well-founded, for the inevitable termination of the long-pending controversy treated of in this book will be, we feel sure, the triumph of the Zemindary interests. The truth is that the power of the wealthy class, the difficulties in the way of legislating in the interest of the ryots, and, above all, the strength of English traditions and convictions upon the subject of property in the soil are too great for the ryots to contend against. All the powers of the Court of Directors, who ever maintained a constant policy in their efforts to protect the rights of the ryots,—all the desires of the majority of the successive Governments in India itself in the same direction, have proved ineffectual to secure the object they had in view, which was itself a most difficult, perhaps an *impossible*, one; and how rapid the progress will be in the direction which we have indicated, now that our highest Court is presided over by an English Judge, we have already had ample evidence. It is scarcely too much to say that the decision of the High Court in the case of *Ishwur Ghose v. Hills* has, as a legal right, abolished the ryot's right of occupancy in Bengal. For its construction of that right to mean nothing more than a right to hold land at a rent which any other ryot will give for it must certainly render it almost valueless. That this important decision is opposed to what was the intention of the framers of Act X. of 1859 must be, we think, patent to any mind untrammelled by legal bonds and traditions. If our legislators had meant to value the right-of-occupancy so low, it surely would have been their easy and obvious course to say so, but under such circumstances they would probably not have thought the right worth preserving at all. Fortunately, however, the actual decision of the High Court is not, in our opinion at least, open to so much objection as the mode in which it was arrived at. We are not prepared to say that one rupee a beegah, or even a little more, is not 'a fair and equitable rent' even for an occupancy ryot to pay in Kishnaghur, and if the demands of landlords are as moderate as were those of Mr. Hills in this case, we do not think that, in the long run, the ryots will have practically made to complain of. Our hope is that the mutual interest of landlord and tenants will combine to produce this result.

All this, however, is, in one sense, beside the mark, the question not being what is absolutely the best system—or upon what system the country is the more likely to flourish, but what were and are the *legal* rights of the classes interested. As already indicated, we think distinctly that the legal rights of the ryots, have been and are being over-ridden, and even though the result should be, as we trust it may be

eventually not unfavourable to the prosperity of both classes, the process must cause a deep sense of wrong, and discontent dangerous for the time to both landlords and Government. Meanwhile a recapitulation such as this book offers to us of the grounds upon which the ryots' rights are based cannot we think but do good; in the direction of moderating and mitigating the severity of the landlord's demands, and easing the process inimical to those rights of which we have said what we believe to be the inevitable eventual result.

We have not much space left for what we have to say upon the other and less valuable part of the book, the *précis* of the Rent Laws as they now stand.

The author has noticed a grave omission in the law, as one consequence of which there is some little confusion in his own remarks. The Rent Laws deal upon distinct and differing principles with ryots and other under-tenants, but they nowhere authoritatively define what constitutes a *ryot*. On the one hand, the Courts have held, that, 'a person possessing an interest intermediate between the proprietor of an estate and the ryot is *not a ryot*,' and on the other the law prescribes that a *ryot* having a right-of-occupancy may sublet his land. The distinction is well understood in practice, and the definition should have been attempted, though it would perhaps have been no easy task to specify the line that separates between a talookdar and a ryot. Meanwhile the absence of the definition causes inconvenience in various ways, especially in regard to the recovery of arrears by sale or ejectment. The author betrays, in various parts of his work, that he does not clearly distinguish in his own mind between ryots and other under-tenants. The bulk of his remarks, for instance, on the sale law are applicable, immediately at any rate, not to ryots but to other under-tenants, and, in their present shape, are hardly appropriate to the general scope of the work. Another important defect in the law noticed by the author is found, as we know, positively inconvenient; it is the absence of any attempt to say what ryots' tenures are transferable, and upon what conditions. The consequence is a wide diversity of practice in different parts of the country. In some parts even the tenures of occupancy-ryots are sold for arrears, in others not even ryots, fixed-rent tenures are so sold. We cannot agree with the author in his views upon the subject. We do not think that it would be right that the tenure of an occupant ryot should be saleable at all; still less that it should be saleable without the consent of the Zemindar.

The author quotes the first report of the Board of Revenue, written after two years' experience of the working of Act X. of 1859. He is not apparently aware that a later report was submitted in 1863, which has, we know not on what grounds, not yet been made public. We know that the continued working of the law was described as in the main satisfactory, and that some of the chief fears of those who opposed the Act in the Zemindary interest, notably those expressed in regard to the withdrawal from the Zemindars of the intolerable power of dragging their ryots to their Cutcherry at will, are found to have



proved bugbears. The Board is not in favour of any further present amendment of the law.

It remains for us only to say that the book is well and clearly arranged, has that most important addition to a book, a good index, and is neatly printed on good paper. Great is the improvement of late years in the work of our Calcutta presses in these subordinate but important particulars. The author apologizes in his preface for his English, but he need not have done so, for his style is pure and good. The only defect is, singularly enough, in the spelling of Native words, which is often careless and incorrect.

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*Buddhism in Tibet, illustrated by Literary Documents and Objects of Religious Worship. With an account of the Buddhist Systems preceding it in India. By Emil Schlagentweit, L. L. D. With a folio Atlas of 20 plates and 20 tables of Native prints in the text.*

It is a remarkable fact that even the best of beliefs and practices, unless sustained by the originality of an uninterrupted succession of independent thinkers, have a strong tendency to degenerate into the mechanical, while the grounds upon which they are based gradually all vitality and become effete and traditional, unable to resist the inroads of even the grossest superstitions. The history of almost every religion affords illustrations of this fact, and nowhere do we meet with them so abundantly as in the annals of Buddhism. Founded upon principles the most rationalistic, and nursed by a yearning for spiritual freedom of which Greece in the palmiest days of her gymnasia, and Germany in the time of Hegel and Kant can alone afford parallels, that religion degenerated within a few hundred years into the most abominable system of priestcraft and superstition. Spirits and goblins and demons rose up by millions everywhere, and swept away every vestige of the philosophy of one of the most intellectual reformers among men, and his teachings have now become but manacles to hold men's mind in abject thralldom. In support of this opinion we have only to refer the reader to the work of which this is intended to be a short notice.

In the year 1855 the late Court of Directors deputed the brothers Adolphe, Hermann, and Robert Schlagentweit on a scientific mission to India, ostensibly to prosecute magnetic observations in the Himalayas. But in the course of their explorations the members of the mission traversed the whole length and breadth of India from Bombay to the Neilgherries, and from Madras to the extreme east of Upper Assam and along the Himalayas to Affghanistan, and to the north as far as Yarkund, and brought together a mass of materials in geology, ethnology, meteorology, and physical geography of the highest value to the cause of science. These materials have since been presented to the public in four magnificent tomes entitled 'Results of a Scientific Mission to India and High Asia,' and in divers essays and reports in the pages of the transactions of scientific societies in India and Europe. The volume under notice is the last fruit of their investigations. Dr. Emil Schlagentweit

here furnishes a dissertation on the information and documents which his brothers collected in Tibet regarding Buddhism as it now exists in that country. Before entering upon the immediate subject of his work, the author gives a popular account of the principal incidents in the life of Buddha, of the Buddhist systems which formerly prevailed in India, and of the form in which the religion of Sákya Siñha was twelve hundred years ago first introduced into Bhutan and Tibet. It has been compiled principally from the writings of Csoma de Kóros, Hodgson, Burnouf, Spence Hardy, and other well-known scholars, and offers but little to the student of oriental antiquities that is new. In some places it is positively wrong; as for instance, in the statement (p. 9) that 'at the time of Sákya-muni's death the inhabitants of India 'were not yet so advanced in civilization as to have a literature,' or that the claims of the Buddhists to scriptural documents written down during the lifetime, or immediately after the death of their prophet are groundless. These points involve questions, the complicated character and bearings of which, we strongly suspect, Herr Schlagentweit is not fully aware of.

The second part of the work, however, embraces much that had been hitherto but vaguely known. On the organization of the Tibetan clergy, the principles of its constitution, the hierarchical system, the religious buildings and monuments of the Lamas, their representations of deities and demons, their ceremonies and modes of worship, their systems of reckoning time and adjusting calendars, their astrological and mystical rites and tables,—in short, on the present state of the Lamaic institutions in Tibet, it affords a large fund of interesting information and evinces considerable research. Many of these doctrines, rituals, and institutions bear a striking resemblance to those of mediæval Romanism, and their history shows that they have run a very similar course in the East and in the West. This it was that led the Lazarist missionaries, Huc and Gabet, to attribute the origin of Lamaic Buddhism to early Christian missionaries in Central Asia, and made Mr. Thoby Prinsep, in his 'Tibet, Tartary, and Mongolia,' exclaim 'What is this but Christianity wanting only the name 'of Christ as its preacher, and the Mosaic faith for its antecedents?'

The most remarkable part of Tibetan Buddhism, however, is its superstition and belief in good and evil genii. In the opinion of Tibetans every wood has its presiding spirit, every rill its sylph or fairy. There is not a mountain or a peak which has not a malevolent genius of some kind or other, nor a breath of wind which wafts not an evil spirit. These affrites and ghoules hover about everywhere, and as plentifully as do the spirits of the dead in the studio of a spirit-rapper. But as numerous are these ghouls are the spells and charms and amulets and phylacteries to keep them away; there exists not an evil for which there is not a sovereign talisman of some saint or other, nor a fright which may not be dispelled by an incantation. Hence it comes that no Tibetan starts on his travels without having numberless little packets of charms hung round his neck and arms, nor ever retires to rest without securing them about his person.

A few of these demons and evil spirits are importations from India, but the great bulk are the creations of their fancy, or the result of the physical condition of their country. The demon Mára, who in India plays the part of a playful Cupid, assumes a most malignant form in Thibet. So does Rahu, the ascending node. The messengers of the Lord of death in a like manner have changed their character in Tibetan mythology. Instead of being the exacting unappeasable beings which we find them described in the Purans, they appear to be mild, covetous, and remarkably accommodating. It is said that the potentate of the neither regions, Shinje by name, has a wonderful mirror, in which he observes the good and bad actions of men. These reflections, by a peculiar law of Stygian physics, are susceptible of being weighed in a balance, and the result decides who is to close his mundane career. Shinje thereupon orders one of his servants to seize the soul of the individual and bring to him, in order that its future may be announced to it. Armed with this mandate the servant proceeds, but being, like other Asiatic servants, both liable to error and amenable to the influence of bribes, he, sometimes by mistake, but more frequently by design, carries away the wrong soul to his master, leaving those who can propitiate him with a becoming offering a longer lease of life than they are entitled to by their works. These wrong seizures are invariably detected by Shinje, and other servants are deputed to exercise his warrants, but as they too are fallible, it is not difficult to lengthen the span of one's life by a judicious and timely appliance of propitiatory offerings.

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*Ninth Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, together with Appendices.* London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1864.

THE portion interesting to us is that devoted to the examinations for the Civil Service of India.

The refusal of a second trial to candidates who failed in the 'Further Examination' has been productive of good results, the proportion of failures being reduced at once from twenty-eight to eleven per cent. One other change has been introduced, which appears ill-timed, the reduction of the marks allowed in Sanscrit and Arabic. This change immediately follows the success obtained by Satyendra Nath Tagore, and the Commissioners will be credited in India with the *arrière pensée* of rendering similar good fortune impossible to natives of India for the future. If Mr. Tagore had been marked in the reduced proportion for Sanscrit and Arabic, he would have obtained a total of 1,391 instead of 1,574, which would have given him the seventieth place instead of the forty-third, or in other words caused his failure, as there were but sixty-two vacancies. We cannot believe that the change has been dictated by political motives, or by other than abstract considerations of the relative advantage of the several branches of examination; but we deprecate it both as tending to diminish the impetus to advancement which the prospect of a Civil Service career afforded to the rising youth of Bengal, and,



more particularly, as having been carried out without sufficient previous notice, at a time when several natives of India are studying in England for the examination. It is no light thing to attract a Hindoo so far from his home on what he will naturally call 'false pretences'; and the change should have been announced at least two years before it was intended to carry it out.

One other change we find recorded on page 200 of the Appendix, which cannot but attract a smile. 'As the duties of Civilians in India 'are such as often require the performance of journeys on horseback, 'candidates will be expected to produce, before the time fixed for the 'further examination, satisfactory evidence of their ability in this respect.' Have the Commissioners been reading the 'Lytel Geste-booke' of the 'Wallahs,' which is apparently in the possession of Mr. George Trevelyan? or have they been studying Scin-Læca's weekly lucubrations in a file of last year's *Englishman*? One would have thought that the tittle-tattle of Calcutta society might have been left to cure of itself the evil complained of. Certainly the 'wallahs' of late years have been most assiduous riders, and we have sometimes heard ingenuous youths discussing the mysteries of horseflesh with a confidence which made our flesh creep. Moreover, how is the 'satisfactory evidence' to be got? Will Sir Edward Ryan rival Turpin's exploit, and 'perform a journey on horseback' from Dean's Yard to York in company with the young aspirants? Will the three Commissioners sit on three chairs in Rotten Row, and watch Mr. Briggs, junior, 'performing a journey' in the Park? What an opportunity for John Leech! Will examiners be appointed, thus?

Sanscrit. Professor MAX MUELLER.

Equitation. { GUY LIVINGSTONE, Esq.  
Professor JOHN DAY.

Law. Professor ABDY.

Or will they content themselves with a certificate from an M. H. of the number of runs 'lived' through and 'raspers' and 'bullfinches' cleared in the course of a winter vacation somewhere in the neighbourhood of Melton Mowbray? One word more;—we trust that in the case of civilians destined for the Punjab, the claims of the camel may not be overlooked. A horse is an awesome thing, but a camel is said to be worse; and the duties there quite as often require the performance of journeys on camelback as on horseback. The trial might take place at the Zoological Gardens, and no doubt the Society would make something out of it, by previous advertisement.

The perusal of examination papers is always depressing; but we are not going to follow the example of certain Members of Parliament who make much public outcry about the difficulty of the questions. No doubt they would find them very hard indeed. It is worthy of consideration whether the programme does not, to a certain extent, encourage cramming. There are persons who think that Latin and Greek still occupy undue time, and obtain undue importance, in English education. They hail a system in which sciences of all sorts, modern languages, and English literature, have obtained so much

prominence. They expect it to reflect a useful influence on educational establishments in general. We should be very glad of any such result, which is not unneeded; but we consider the success improbable, and the attempt injurious. Eton, Harrow, and Rugby are interested to an infinitesimal degree in these examinations; they will never change their curriculum to suit them. Public opinion will sooner or later effect a change; French will be taught at Eton, because the Public Schools Commission, or the House, or Paterfamilias says it must be taught; but never to improve the chance of a young Etonian passing for the Civil Service. It is not so with Messrs. Crammer and Flimsy's establishment at Newington Butts. These examinations are the life and soul of that distinguished Academy; Crammer and Flimsy don't care what they teach, so that it pays; whatever wind blows from Dean's Yard, Westminster, S. W., Crammer and Flimsy trim their sails to catch it. When the new rule about Sanscrit came out, they at once cut out an hour a week from the Sanscrit lessons, and divided the extra time between the Professor of Poetical Tags and Stock Quotations (called English Literature), and the Professor of Bi-carburetted Hydrogen. They have their reward; they get the prizes to the exclusion of Harrow and Rugby; and the Indian Service is deluged with their pupils, to the visible deterioration of its tone. Now we insist that it is not the Commissioners' duty to try educational experiments, or to attempt to outstrip the age. We do not maintain the education of our public schools to be the best ideal education, but it is the best practical; as of forms of Government, 'whate'er is best administered 'is best,' so of subjects of education,—the best is the one which is actually the best taught; and classics are better taught at the English public schools than 'literature' or physical sciences anywhere in the world. Besides, a large amount of complaint would be obviated at once by a system that would encourage Public School and University men to come forward. If you want manliness, ability in out-of-door exercises, the tone of gentlemen, Dr. Temple and Mr. Butler could tell you where to find them, much better than all the Crammers and Flimsies that ever baited hooks for gudgeon. These things are not in *their* curriculum, or dreamt of in their (natural and moral) philosophy. Why not then attach more importance to the subjects of the good old English education, and less to these miscellaneous branches of knowledge, which every one can learn when wanted, which the young men whom we most want to catch don't learn at school or college, though they will in all probability pick them up in after-life—for who ever heard of a good classical scholar who was not also a well-informed man? The watch-word of these examinations should be war against Cram, which is only a form of ignorance, as hypocrisy is a form of vice.

With this view, we would considerably lower the maximum marks for English, (except in composition,) allow no candidate to take in more than one modern language, raise the value of the classical languages—Latin, Greek, Sanscrit, and Arabic,—and make passing in

two of those languages, or in one of them *plus* mathematics, obligatory. Concerning moral and natural sciences, we are not so clear; nothing is a greater proof of an exact and logical mind and a sound education than *proficiency* in one of these branches; and we do not despair of seeing them used as instruments of education in our great educational establishments; but till they are so, till they are well taught, and taught in the best schools, it might be as well to put them in the background.

The statistics of the examination for 1863 will show that our complaints are not unfounded; of sixty-two successful candidates, three took up no Greek, and six neither Greek nor Latin; four got *no* marks for English composition, (which probably means that they are *very* bad,) while nearly every one was marked highly for the curious *mélange* of general information called 'English literature.' Only twelve took in mathematics, and of these, four obtained no marks. The best mathematician was number thirty-nine on the general list. The name of Rugby occurs three times, Winchester twice, Eton, Shrewsbury, Merchant Tailors, Charterhouse, and Christ's Hospital, each once; Harrow and Westminster do not appear. There are seven Cambridge men, nine Oxford men, and as many as *nine* from the Civil Service College, Blandford Square,—a falling off even from 1862, when Oxford and Cambridge each numbered twice what they numbered last year, and Blandford Square was *nowhere*.

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*An Essay on Political Economy, illustrating the expediency of securing the Master Idea from the Supernatural Element.* By M. F. Crisp. Moulmain: 1864.

THIS pamphlet has been sent us for review by the author; but, while acknowledging his courtesy, we must venture to decline the task as impossible. It is past the wit of man to say what sort of book it is; man is but an ass, if he goeth about to review this book. It ought to be called Bottom's book, because it hath no bottom. Chaos is a fool to it. Ship-building and St. Matthew's Gospel, Colonel Phayre and the supernatural element, John Stuart Mill and Mrs. Mason, false Cæsars, 'Her Majesty's Buddhists,' and the Maine liquor law waltz up and down every page in inextricable confusion, as in a philosopher's nightmare. We might pick out many clever and some profound remarks, but they are totally isolated from the context, and it is impossible to pick any continuous meaning out of such passages as the following:—

'It is true that Solomon has credit for the axiom about spoiling the child by sparing the rod, but Solomon copied from David, David from Saul and Samuel, whom Bishop Colenso and other writers prove to be the author of the Pentateuch. A qualified school-master may have a gold-headed cane, well knowing he would not flog his pupils with it. The spirit of literature in the Bible is based on supernatural agency, or the assumption that society is similar to the planetary system—the work of God—whereas society and Government are the works of man, similar to Babbage's Calculating Machine. This view



'is confirmed by the elaborate decision of the House of Lords on the 'Essay and Review trial.' *Dedication*, p. vi.

'The history of sectarianism formerly under the leadership of the '*Friend of India*, the history of the penny post system, and the history 'of the supply of raw material to paper-makers, would produce an 'outline sketch of the object of political economy.' *Introd.* p. ix.

'Long before I heard of Lord Monbody (*sic*) or saw a member of 'the hairy family in Burmah, I had seen the lower class of Malay 'women, and had also seen an ourang-outang, and having in my mind's 'eye a beautiful English female, my pride yielded to reason, instinct, 'and the law of progress, which necessarily gave an original turn to my 'thoughts, and induced me to make the xxv. chapter of St. Matthew 'the i. and the i. the xxv. chapter. Now by thus reading the Gospel, the 'why and wherefore, the author of the Gospel condemns riches and the 'scribes, pharisees, and hypocrites, and protected females and children, 'convinced me that our Saviour's heaven is on earth.' p. 32.

*Ecce iterum Crispinus* :—

'An essay resembles a plough going over rough ground.'

'There is no moral principle in mind.'

'The education of females is the outward and visible sign of Chris-  
'tianity.'

'Europe upholds its love of dominion by the sword, Asia by 'intellectual power, [!] while Africa has retrograded into civilizing 'barbarism. [?]

'Seamen free society. Soldiers enslave society.'

This last is rather neat. And the sentence with which we conclude, though strongly put, is sound, and worth remembering :—

'There is but one mode to develop the resources of any country, *viz.* 'justice and equity, or equal rights. A complete net of railways over 'India for instance, would not induce miserable ryots to produce cheap 'good cotton from dear land.'

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*Kedarnauth Dutt's Poems*, 18mo. *Calcutta* : 1863.

WE have glanced at this little volume of Bengali verse, which we have no hesitation in recommending as suitable especially for Hindoo women. We do not expect that such will read the *Calcutta Review*, but many, we trust, of our readers will be interested in knowing what books may be safely recommended as good in style and unexceptionable in moral tone, and with that object we intend, if duly assisted, to take an occasional survey of the field of vernacular literature.

The Bijonogram, the first poem in this book, is an account of the desolation of the once populous village of Oolah, near Ranaghat, in consequence of the ravages of the late epidemic. It is pleasing in style, and evidently on the model of Goldsmith; and we would rather see a Bengali using his English studies to purify and improve the style of vernacular verse than find him composing imitation English epics about Porus and Alexander. The Sunnyassee in two chapters is an abler production, and reflects much credit on the author. Of the minor poems, the description of spring, and the translation from

Carlyle, are very fair specimens. We hope the author will continue to give his countrymen the benefit of his elegant and unassuming pen, which is quite free from those objectionable licences of thought and expression which abound in many dramas recently published. The want of the day is the creation of a literature for Hindoo ladies ; and we trust that many more educated natives will have the good sense to devote their time and abilities to the attainment of this most desirable end.

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WE have also to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of *The Indian Annals of Medical Science*, No. 17 ; *Review of Mr. John Dickenson's 'Dhar not restored ;' Suggestions on the Land Revenue of India*, by a Collector, (received too late for ampler notice) ; *Asiatic Society's Journal*, No. 294 ; three Reports by the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, (*on the Mahanuddy ; on the Godavery and its Feeders ; and on the projected Tramway between Nagpore and the Eastern Districts*) ; Reports on the Salt and Abkari departments, and on the Calcutta Small Cause Court, published by the Bengal Government ; *Papers of 1859 to 1863 regarding the Damoodah Embankments*, published by the same Government ; and a pamphlet by *Indopolite ; The Indian Paper Currency, with some suggestions for its Improvement*.

The first-named work contains much interesting matter, but no Editor with a sense of responsibility ought to have inserted the paper on the Medical Topography of the Bhutty territory, forwarded by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. It is gratifying to know, on the authority of Sir Robert Montgomery and of Dr.—well, we won't mention names,—that 'the family of Bovidæ exist plentifully, and are extensively employed by cultivators and traders,' and that musquitoes are very annoying ; but will those eminent authorities endorse the classification of prawns among fish, and of the Mongoose among Rodents, the frequent appearance of the *Cervus elaphus* and *dama* in the Punjab, and the wonderful statement that parrots subsist in the succulent parts of vegetables ; not to speak of the doubtful Hindoostani, execrable English, and impossible Latin, prevailing throughout the paper ?

The pamphlet on Dhar is incisive, and decisive as against Mr. John Dickenson, and we hope it will attract attention at home, where Dickensonianism is more dangerous than in this country ; the author is evidently well acquainted with his subject ; we hope to revert to this question in our next issue.

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